

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 263 743

FL 015 261

AUTHOR McLaughlin, Diana Chiarky
TITLE Some Relationships between Appalachian Language and Culture and High School Drop-Out Rates as Found in Two West Virginia Counties.
PUB DATE Dec 84
NOTE 157p.; Masters Thesis, University of Texas at Arlington.
PUB TYPE Dissertations/Theses - Master Theses (042) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Achievement; *Cultural Context; Curriculum Development; *Dropout Characteristics; Elementary Education; High Schools; Interference (Language); Language Usage; *Nonstandard Dialects; *Regional Dialects; Teacher Role
IDENTIFIERS *Appalachia (South); *English (Appalachian); West Virginia

ABSTRACT

This study examines the possible relationship between elementary and secondary students' use of a nonstandard form of English and the high school dropout rate in the Southern Appalachian region. The investigation began in two counties with interviews of teachers who appeared not to see that their students' speech variety differed from their own. Further investigation revealed a larger set of problems in educating this group of children, involving linguistic variance, a poor fit between the school system and the culture, and aspects of the mountain culture such as strong traditional views, geographic isolation, suspicion of non-mountain culture, little value attached to education, and lack of parental education or support. Suggestions for change include language programs based on the English-as-a-second-language concept; curriculum geared to the mountain child; reassessment of standardized examinations; a supplementary reading program, following the example of the Foxfire program; teacher education in relevant culture and language, educator workshops; community action projects; and adult education classes. (MSE)

* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *

SCOPE OF INTEREST NOTICE

The ERIC Facility has assigned this document for processing to:

In our judgment, this document is also of interest to the Clearinghouses noted to the right. Indexing should reflect their special points of view.

FL
UG

ED263743

SOME RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN APPALACHIAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE AND HIGH SCHOOL DROP-OUT RATES AS FOUND IN TWO WEST VIRGINIA COUNTIES

by

DIANA CHIARKY MCLAUGHLIN

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS

FL015261

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

December 1984

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

- ☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

* Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Diana C. McLaughlin

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

©Copyright by Diana Chiarky McLaughlin 1984

All Rights Reserved

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the members of my supervising committee for their guidance and support. Larry Yost, as a native West Virginian, was an excellent touchstone to test the cultural and educational data for me. Wait Wolfram, as the first linguist to do major analytical work on Appalachian English helped to maintain the integrity of my linguistic material. George Hutter has an eye not only for the finest detail, but also for the flow of discourse, and he imparted wisdom in both areas. Peggy Wendell, as my supervising professor, has been a wizard with her red pen, her feeling for English grammar, punctuation, spelling and construction. Her patience and humor have been especially important to me at this time.

A large measure of gratitude goes to educators in West Virginia; from the offices of the State Department of Education through County Superintendents to sixty-five teachers I met nothing but the greatest courtesy and cooperation. I cannot help but feel that those teachers are a special breed of people, so willing to help were they.

To my son Jamie, aged nine, goes my undying gratitude and half this Master's degree. He has patiently supported me with his cooperation, his prayer, and concrete things like doing housework for me for one long year. First and foremost, however, to the Lord God of Israel, Who dropped the idea into my mind, Who opened doors, Who provided financially, and Who poured the words out on the pages, goes all the credit. May this work be to His glory.

November 26, 1984

SOME RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN APPALACHIAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE AND HIGH
SCHOOL DROP-OUT RATES AS FOUND IN TWO WEST VIRGINIA COUNTIES

Diana Chiarky McLaughlin, M.A.

The University of Texas at Arlington, 1984

Supervising Professor: Margaret Mae Wendell

The Southern Appalachian Region rests like an island in this latter half of the twentieth century with the mainstream of American affluence and American pursuit of academic excellence washing around it, but leaving it unchanged to a remarkable degree. Nowhere is this slowness to change more clearly reflected than in the schools of the region. While school systems in Appalachia have undergone extensive changes in recent years, they also still record some of the highest drop-out rates in the nation.

For a number of years now, educators and residents of Appalachia have speculated about the causes of the school drop-out problem. After a linguistic analysis was done a dozen years ago of the language in Appalachia, and given the evidence of other school systems wherein the characteristics of the school drop-out problem parallel those of Appalachia, a hypothesis emerged about the possibility of linguistic input to the problem. This author believed there was a probability that the schoolchildren in Appalachia were being held back in their educational development because they spoke a language different from Standard English, and no one who was involved knew it--least of all the children.

In order to explore this hypothesis, a trip was made to West Virginia in the summer of 1984, and Kindergarten and First Grade teachers from two counties were surveyed. As expected, a goodly amount of evidence was amassed to describe the schoolchildren's use of Appalachian English and the ways in which this usage of a separate linguistic variety impeded those children's progress in school.

Tantalizingly, however, indications of cultural input to the problem began to appear. As more and more pieces of the puzzle fell into place, the cultural implications loomed large and magnified the linguistic side of the problem to a considerable degree.

The first section of this thesis develops the background against which the problem is to be viewed in order to obtain proper perspective. The cultural and linguistic characteristics are examined, and a framework is established in which to study current educational information.

The second part of the thesis reveals the problem in all its ramifications. Proceeding through individual interviews with educators, first an outline is discerned; then the picture develops depth and dimension as the educators interviewed candidly lay bare the difficulties they have sustained in their attempts to educate the mountain child. Chapter 6 closes off the first two-thirds of the paper by presenting the conclusions that have been reached to that point.

The last part of the thesis investigates possible solutions to the problem. These suggestions fall into three categories: those for the benefit of the students, those for the teachers, and those for the community-at-large. Most of the suggestions are aimed at helping the young schoolchild, but there is one program mentioned that would work

only with older students.

All of the proposals (except those specifically for the community) are educator-oriented in that they are presented in terms of teacher and administrator tasks and responsibilities. The author is making the assumption that such an orientation is not an imposition on the educators since they themselves stated repeatedly in interviews their desire for ways in which to help their mountain pupils. Furthermore, some of the suggestions proposed could only be instigated efficiently from within the educational system--changes in curriculum material, for example.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
INTRODUCTION	1

PART I. BACKGROUND AND THE PROBLEM OUTLINED

Chapter

1.	THE AREA	5
2.	THE CULTURE	9
	Preview	
	Historical Foundation	
	The Influence of Coal Mining	
	The Mountaineer Today	
	Religious Beliefs	
	A Compendium	
3.	THE LANGUAGE	33
	Prefacing Discussion: Is Appalachian English a Language?	
	The Phonology	
	The Grammar	
	The Lexicon	
	Closing Remarks	
4.	THE SCHOOLS.....	60
	The Regional Level	
	The State Level	
	The County Level	
	Summation	

PART II. RELATING CURRENT VIEWS OF THE PROBLEM

5.	INTERVIEWS WITH EDUCATORS	69
	Objectives	
	Difficulties Encountered in Teaching the Mountain Child	
	Responses of the Educators	

6.	CONCLUSIONS DRAWN	87
	Language and Culture Input	
	School Input	
PART III. SUGGESTIONS FOR SOLUTIONS		
7.	PROGRAMS FOR STUDENTS	96
	The English as a Second Language Concept	
	Curriculum Development Geared to the Mountain Child	
	Reassessment of the CTBS Examination	
	Supplementary Reading Program	
	The Example Set by the Foxfire Program	
8.	PROGRAMS FOR EDUCATORS	114
	Teacher Education Class on Culture and Language	
	Workshops for Educators	
9.	PROGRAMS FOR THE COMMUNITY	118
	Community Action Projects	
	Adult Education Classes	
	SUMMARY	127
	FOOTNOTES	131
	APPENDIX	134
	REFERENCES	140

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is one result of a life-long concern for the mountain children of Appalachia and their seeming inability to make the educational system work for them as a group. Some of the highest school drop-out rates in the nation are found in the schools that serve these mountain strongholds, yet the reasons that often underlie high school drop-out rates in other parts of the United States, such as drug usage or delinquency, are not factors here. Pupil profiles from rural Appalachia do find a parallel, however, with some of the well-documented case studies of schools wherein the child just beginning the educational process speaks a language that is different from the official language of instruction of the primary school.¹

This work will discuss various methods for helping the mountain schoolchild bridge the gap between speaking Appalachian English and reading fluently in Standard English. There are several program concepts that are considered vital in meeting the child's needs, not only linguistically, but also culturally, in order for him to achieve literacy as an ongoing competence. The author lays no claim to these ideas, as they were gleaned from individual teachers in Appalachia who are still struggling on behalf of those children.

In a very real sense, this thesis is written for those teachers-- to let them know that they are not alone; to overlay the outline of their experiences with the mountain child with that of the larger view, both linguistically and educationally; to clear away some of the misun-

derstandings; and to reveal the extant foundation upon which it may be possible to construct viable programs for meeting the needs of the mountain child.

Since the purpose of this thesis is not a discussion of what makes a language a language or of determining the point at which one language is recognized by scholars to be a completely separate and independent entity, the term "language" will largely be dropped henceforth and the term "linguistic variety" substituted. Suffice it to say that Appalachian English--as linguists have been calling it for twelve or more years now--has its own phonology, its own grammar, its own lexical file and an honorable history.

Furthermore, since a different linguistic variety predicates cultural differences, it will be taken as understood, although not always so stated, that the mountain people of Appalachia also have their own culture which is so intertwined with and represented by their language as to be considered inseparable from it. Moreover, as will be clearly brought out in this work, many of the difficulties of the schoolchild in Appalachia are neither wholly linguistic nor wholly cultural in nature, but rather an amalgam of the two, thus requiring solutions of similar construction.

A survey on linguistic usage as possible input for school drop-out problems was conducted in two West Virginia counties. In those two counties, many well-educated teachers (a number of whom had an M.A. degree or more) spoke of their pupils in the school setting as though only one language were in use and as though staff and children alike shared the same cultural mind-set and values. "And there's the rub" as

Shakespeare said. A teacher who observes a child entering the classroom with epicanthic folds and speaking English with an accent knows that he or she is going to encounter linguistic and cultural misunderstandings and reacts accordingly.

The mountain child of this study does not usually receive that extra consideration. Instead, as teachers throughout Appalachia who care deeply about the child and his educational success observe his poor performance in the classroom, he has frequently become an object of grave concern and an unfailing source of frustration to them. Since the teachers themselves are not aware that a separate linguistic variety and its attendant culture are operating in their classrooms, they are, therefore, being convinced against their wills that these children either are not very bright, or that they just don't have a feeling for learning. This impression is enforced for the teachers by the very parents of these children as they haltingly describe histories of familial failures in school.

Those teachers who do make special efforts to reach and to educate the mountain child often find themselves butting headlong into traditional walls, or else afloat in a chartless sea where they define pupil or parent behavior in terms of their own cultural background, to the detriment of all--but particularly to the child. For it is the child who will receive the best that the educational system and these dedicated purveyors have to offer, and yet may surface years later as a semiliterate adult, barely accepted or tolerated by the larger society, unable to obtain and/or keep a good-paying job because he carries the stigma of illiteracy.

PART I

BACKGROUND AND THE PROBLEM OUTLINED

CHAPTER 1

THE AREA

While the Appalachian Mountains really extend from Maine to Georgia, the area that today leaps to mind as typifying the Appalachians (when that term arises) is actually the Southern Appalachian Region. The SAR covers one entire state and parts of seven others. The inner core of this area, lying like a blanket over all of West Virginia and eastern Kentucky, western Virginia, eastern Tennessee, and western North Carolina, is usually considered to be most representative of the qualities identified with Appalachia: geographical isolation, extreme poverty, linguistic variation, and a culture that apparently knows or cares little about the advanced technology and values of the twentieth century. A goodly number of the studies conducted about Appalachia, whether specifically ethnographic, linguistic, economic or educational in nature, were made within this inner fortress of the Appalachians, up the creeks and hollows of its smaller, contained mountain ranges such as the Cumberlands, the Great Smoky Mountains, the Blue Ridge Mountains, the Alleghenies or the Black Mountains.

West Virginia is called the Mountain State, and this is not a misnomer. There are many states in the United States that can boast of mountains higher than the 4,000 to 5,000 foot high peaks that crown West Virginia. However, as one indignant mountaineer retorted to someone who informed him of this: "But, in Wes' Virginny, we got moun'ains

everywhere!" This statement is a very literal appraisal of a fact of life in West Virginia. Another fact which has contributed to the cultural and linguistic isolation of the people and shaped their attitudes is the inaccessibility and limited usefulness of those mountains to the residents due to the extreme steepness of the hillsides. "United States topographers report that in Appalachia as a whole the mountain slopes occupy 90% of the total area and that 85% of the land has a steeper slope than one foot in five" (Kephart, 1913:370). Is this not similar to the situation found on the small island of New Guinea where linguists say that they have distinguished 1100 separate languages? New Guinea's linguistic diversity is believed to be due to the pockets of isolation created by their numerous, steep mountains, and this description parallels topographical descriptions of Appalachia.

While Harry Caudill has written his book Night Comes to the Cumberlands only about his home mountain range of eastern Kentucky and southern West Virginia, the geographical and topographical description pertains to much of the Southern Appalachian Region:

The Cumberland Plateau region of Kentucky is a serrated upland in the eastern and southeastern part of the state. Its jagged hills and narrow winding valleys cover some ten thousand square miles.

Much of the region's story is the story of coal. Geologists tell us that two hundred million years ago it was a plain that had risen from the floor of a long-dry inland sea. Then the tortured crust of the earth cracked and faulted, rearing the mountains... water flowing away from its base chiseled thousands of narrow valleys--the creeks and hollows of today. After the shallow sea receded it left a vast bog where vegetation flourished, died...turned to peat, and finally to coal. When the streams carved out the mountains and ridges of today, they sliced through magnificent seams of coal, a mineral the steel age would esteem more highly than rubies... (1962:viii-ix).

Before the nation's attention turned, however, to the mineral

wealth of Appalachia, timber was big business. The manner of disappearance of much of the virgin timber in Appalachia left its mark--quite literally--upon the land and is, therefore, of interest here. During the last half of the nineteenth century, when labor was cheap and plentiful and men went into the woods with no more equipment than axes and crosscut saws, giant timber corporations moved en masse to Appalachia (Caudill, 1962:66). One team would cut the trees, clear-cutting them all because it was easier and because they were paid only by how much they cut. Another team would load and transport the timber, paid only by how quickly they did the job and by the usable board feet produced. This disparity meant that many trees were cut and left because of their inaccessibility, lying on steep slopes or in ravines (Caudill, 1962:68). Thus, when the rains pounded down, there were no thirsty tree roots to suck up the moisture; neither were there tree roots to help hold the soil in place on the precipitous slopes. In consequence, much of the topsoil has washed off many of the mountains in Appalachia, leaving a thin covering of earth that appears to "grow rocks."

The steepness of the hillsides dissuaded the inhabitants from establishing many dwellings on the upper rises of these mountains. It is still true in West Virginia today that a great majority of the residents who live outside the cities and towns have their homes either on the narrow valley floors or on the lower mountain slopes. If they have built in a valley, then their house competes with the garden for ground space, and they often end up placing the garden on the lower hillside instead. "We have seen that the Appalachian region was peculiar in this: that good bottom lands were few and far between" (Kephart, 1913:306).

Knowing little of soil-enrichment needs or of planting schema such as terracing or crop rotation, generations of mountaineers have watched in dismay as each rain brought more topsoil from the hillsides to the valley floor, and their crops grew poorer each year. Even the farmer who put his house on the slope and his garden on the level has not reaped a bounteous harvest in recent generations. Every little valley has a creek running through it and is, therefore, subject to flooding, thus further leaching the soil of its nutrients. The men in this day who can support their families completely from the land are few (Stephenson, 1968:14).

Added to the physical limitations of the mountain dweller is the cumulative weight of the inheritance system as practiced in Appalachia. Since the inhabitants are Celtic in lineage and culture (Simpkins, 1980: 32), they do not practice the English custom of primogeniture. Instead, until recent years, families divided their land more or less equally among all the children. And those children divided it again among their children. In the latter half of the twentieth century, this habit has been discontinued in most areas of West Virginia, but the reaction has come too late for many householders who might otherwise have established themselves as truck farmers or dealt in livestock on a small scale.

CHAPTER 2

THE CULTURE

Preview

Several books have been issued on the subject of the mountain-
eer's culture. Some of these works, particularly those written by
trained sociologists, present a comprehensive, cross-sectional view of
mountain culture. It is not possible (nor necessarily even desirable)
to examine Appalachian culture in depth here. Rather, this thesis will
offer a concentrated view of the mountain culture as a totality, high-
lighting those elements which most closely relate to the education of
the mountain child. A historical glimpse is also considered important
in order to help the reader understand why some of the mountain child's
values are so very firmly rooted.

As has been stated in the introduction, the complex situation in
which both the mountain child and his teacher find themselves immured
today is not the result of linguistic divergence alone. Cultural dif-
ferences are also an important factor. Some of the barriers that arise
between the child and his teacher's vision of full literacy for the
child stem simply from misunderstandings and wrongful interpretations
that the child and the teacher place upon each other's behavior. Other
walls that keep the child from claiming his rightful educational estate
(and sometimes even prevent his knowing the full reality of what is
available to him) are constituted by basic, inherent traits of his cul-

tural mind-set.

The preceding remark is not meant to imply any judgment on the mountain child's culture. It is, after all, his culture, a complete entity, an interweaving of strengths and weaknesses, and, indeed, often contains much more that is admirable than do some modern cultures. But, as will become clear upon reading the section on culture, some of the same strengths that have so developed and sustained the mountaineer have, due to a lack of flexibility, imprisoned his children, denying them the opportunities to fulfill certain basic potentials (Hicks, 1976:viii). Perhaps there may be found within the catalogue of cultural characteristics a hidden path and gate which, when energized by the proper motivation, will provide the child access to the vision without laying waste to his culture.

Many are the influences of the mountaineer's culture, more than a few of which run out-of-sight into the dark ages of history. But they play a role in the make-up and attitudes of the man who today inhabits the Appalachian mountains.

Historical Foundation

Throughout this section on culture, the Scots-Irish will be described as Celts, and this act of nomenclature is making a sharp distinction between them and the English, who are culturally and linguistically Anglo-Saxons. When the Romans invaded Britain, they did not conquer those Celtic groups in Scotland and Ireland (Peters, 1968:51). The English, however, were conquered and were thereby influenced many times by many different heritages. (In the Appendix there is a map of

language/culture areas in Britain during the Old English period.) The Celts in Scotland remained untouched to an unusual degree by outside influence until a number of them crossed the sea to Ireland.

Wylene Dial describes the means by which the Scots merged with the Irish:

It was early in his English reign that James I decided to control the Irish by putting a Protestant population into Ireland. To do this, he confiscated the lands of the Earls of Ulster and bestowed them upon Scottish and English lords on condition they settle the lands with tenants from Scotland and England. This was known as 'The King's Plantation', and it was begun in 1610 (Dial, 1974:74).

King James promised the new settlers that they could own their own land in Ulster within five years of having established a homestead thereon. At that time in history Lowland Scots were being foreclosed off their land in great numbers by the Enclosure Acts (Dial, 1974:74). So it was that about 100,000 Lowland Scots and 20,000 English farmers relocated to Ulster (Simpkins, 1974:35-6). These Protestants who were to form an enclave on a Catholic island all spoke English already as the language of wider communication, but it can be seen mathematically which group and, therefore, which language was preeminent. Although the Scots eventually blended to a certain extent with the Irish, the amalgamation represented an uneasy truce because of the resentment and resistance of the Irish (Kephart, 1913:361). So it was that, as the culture evolved, it contained more of the Scottish traits and less of the Irish. One example of this is seen in the fact that the Scots-Irish who finally came to the United States were Calvinistic in background and culture (Weatherford, 1955:10-11).

During the next hundred years the changes that took place on The

King's Plantation were central to the culture as it developed. First, the royal promise was broken, and dreams of future ownership were replaced by the reality of rack renting. The new inhabitants had to re-bid for their land each year in order to continue living there, and they found themselves outbid on occasion and had to move. This lack of security fanned the flames of their hunger for their own land. To the Scotsmen and to the Irishmen, with some of whom the Scots intermarried, having their own piece of land became all-important. Land meant security. Land meant roots.

Next, lacking a basic assurance about the land on which they were living and recognizing their vulnerability to the overview of the tax assessor, these newer residents switched over almost completely to the raising of livestock (Simpkins, 1974:38). This was a venture upon which the Scots had entered with distinction while still in Scotland (Simpkins, 1974:38).² Certainly, with the Scot's background of rugged terrain, livestock instead of crops had been a most sensible step. Now, in Ireland, when the taxman hove into view, it was far easier to trot one's investment out-of-sight than it was to argue with him about assessments on a planted crop. And, if a man lost the bid for the land upon which he'd been living, he didn't have to leave behind his investment in terms of soil he'd worked and enriched.

Finally, the consequences of this concentration in animal husbandry rather than in agriculture were far-reaching. Gardens were now for personal satisfaction and family use instead of for income, and so they remained small-scale. The intervening years that led the Scots-Irishman into the twentieth century saw a lack of interest on his part

as to care of the land and new techniques of agronomy. His migration into the narrow, seasonally-flooding valleys and steep, shaded slopes of Appalachia did nothing to dispel this point of view.

Between 1700 and 1776 over one half million Scots-Irish came to North America. Dr. Norman Simpkins, anthropologist and head of the Sociology Department at Marshall University in Huntington, West Virginia describes settlement patterns:

The Anglo-Saxons who are the English were town dwellers. The Scotch-Irish were not. They were rural or country dwellers. And if you look at the settlement patterns in New England and the settlement patterns when you get into the Alleghenies you'll see the difference. The Puritans, the English Pilgrims, were largely Anglo-Saxon in descent. They settled in towns and farmed the lands roundabout...The Scotch-Irish lived on the land. The Celtic pattern is, if you have land you live on it (Simpkins, 1974:37-8).

So these new settlers--Protestant Celts--came with a fierce hunger for land of their own. They brought their love of animals, but little interest and less knowledge about working the soil. Today, one widely recognized characteristic of the mountain dweller is his attachment to his animals (Simpkins, 1974:39).

These half-million pioneers were quite content to move into the inhospitable, rugged mountains of the Southern Appalachian Region, mountains which no previous group of settlers had wanted and where they could achieve their hearts' desire of being left alone on their own land. They even got credit for providing a buffer zone between the more populated areas and the Indians (Simpkins, 1974:36). Indian contact enabled these new settlers to learn much about their new land, and most of them became very knowledgeable about the native vegetation and wildlife. Apparently admiring the Indian's ability to make every element

of this strange land work well for him, the Scots-Irishman added hunting to his repertoire, buckskin to his attire, corn to his garden, and a wide variety of wild meats to his table (Green, 1974:16-26). Interaction between the white settler and the Indian was common, if sometimes violent, and intermarriage was not unheard of.

The independent attitudes which motivated the mountain man's distant ancestor to move to Ireland and his great, great grandfather to relocate to the United States were hardened in the furnace of isolation and hardship in the Appalachian Mountains.

Each man became his own provider, his own law and protector, his family's agent to the outside world, its doctor and dentist and even teacher for the children, since no one else could be counted on to provide these services. Hence the mountaineer came to admire the man who was most independent, both economically and socially... (Weller, 1965:30).

Here, there is a key to much that is puzzling in highland character. In the beginning, isolation was forced upon the mountaineers; they accepted it as inevitable and bore it with stoical fortitude until in time they came to love solitude for its own sake and to find compensation in it for lack of society (Kephart, 1913:306).

Thus, the mountain dwellers entering the twentieth century were a surprisingly uniform group with regard to culture and lifestyle:

When the twentieth century opened, only four per cent. of... [the mountaineers] dwelt in cities of 8,000 inhabitants and upwards. There were but seven such cities in all Appalachia--a region larger than England and Scotland combined--and these owed their development to outside influences. Only 77 out of 186 mountain counties had towns of 1,000 and upwards.

Our highlanders are the most homogeneous people in the United States. In 1900, out of a total population of 3,039,835, there were only 18,617 of foreign birth. This includes the cities and industrial camps...(Kephart, 1913:378).

The Influence of Coal Mining

The discovery of coal beneath large portions of Appalachia

seemed, at the time, to be nothing more or less than an Act of God. As a homeowner, the mountaineer had been squeezed onto a relatively barren and diminishing portion of earth. It was becoming daily more difficult to provide for his growing family. Given the original culture of the people, it can be readily seen that the invasion of the "Coal Barons" with their mind-sets of paternalism and land-raiding has wrought powerful changes in the attitudes and abilities of the people toward self-sustenance.

Indeed, one can extract from Harry Caudill's book (1962:115-132) an excellent outline of the development of the so-called "welfare personality." First the family was deprived of its land by lawyers who purchased mineral rights wholesale on behalf of large, out-of-state conglomerates. As an extension of this point, Caudill goes into meticulous detail in describing the building of county political machines in his area of Kentucky. These political machines controlled the schools not only through the school boards, but also through the taxation process. In this way, a farmer sitting on a high-useless chunk of land could be taxed twenty dollars an acre while a fully-operational mine, pulling tons of "black diamonds" out of the ground daily could be taxed as little as five dollars an acre (Caudill, 1962:135).

Step two took place when, drawn by the lure of ready money, many of the mountain men came down from their creeks and hollows to work in the mines. Since the mine owners wanted punctual, reliable help, they quickly conceived and executed the idea of mine camps. When assigned a house that was both cheap to rent and close to work, most miners were cooperative. Some sold their homesteads or passed them on to nearly grown

children. Step by step they put themselves in the power of the mine owners and became dependent upon their good will.

Soon nearly every camp had its own company store for the convenience of the miner and his family. The company store sold its supplies at a slightly higher price than would be charged in town, but it was handy, and it cashed the miners' paychecks for them, circumventing the need to get to town within banking hours. Of course, the company store also gave change in "scrip"--the mine's currency--so that the miner could not take his change and complete his shopping elsewhere. But there was little actual need to go elsewhere to shop. The company store carried everything from beans to overalls, from hammers to brooms, from cough medicine to new kitchen stoves and living room suites. And this is the next step as seen by Caudill--that the mine culture encouraged these newly rich workers, most of whom were seeing more cash in a month than they had previously seen in a year, to become wastrels (1962:122). When suddenly brought together with all that money and all those attractive goods after generations of handling little hard cash, the mountain man was as culturally unprepared and as intoxicated as was the first Indian downing his first jolt of whiskey.

The mention of alcohol introduces the next step posited by Caudill. These mountain people were Celts, and drinking was part of their culture, but they didn't purchase their beverages at the state liquor store. Like almost everything else they had consumed before the advent of the twentieth century, they made it themselves. So, when they found themselves in financial straits, either because that newfangled monthly payment system had gotten the better of them, or because they had lost their jobs in

some way, they remembered that a "bushel of corn was worth about a dollar but could be converted into 30 or 40 dollars worth of whiskey when sold at retail..." (Caudill, 1962:123). And once they were making it, they certainly weren't going to sell all of it and not keep a little back for hospitality's sake. It has been observed in other cultures that, when there is a massive change in some form of the culture, and it is coupled with the use of alcohol, there tends to be a culture-wide increase in individual dependence on alcohol and its relative importance and status to the group (McLaughlin, 1975:6).

The mountain man who lost his job and no longer had a small piece of land where he could at least tend his little garden, keep a few hogs and a bee tree or two was a humbled man. The next step that Caudill saw in the devaluing of the mountain man's culture took place when he was no longer working. The mines were terribly dangerous in those early days, and injuries were commonplace. The fortunate man was able to recuperate and return to work. The less fortunate man lost a limb or was paralyzed or otherwise maimed for life. To the permanently injured man the coal company was required to pay compensation. In the early days of the mines, however, there was no legislation requiring that payment be made within any rigorous sort of schedule. Due to this oversight, coal companies would dole out the money (for example, \$2,000 for the loss of a limb) in as many as 400 weekly payments, instead of making a lump-sum settlement (Caudill, 1962:121). This placed the mountain man in the untenable position of having to stand and wait for years with his hand held out.

Caudill's final point is that the mine owners' political control

over the school boards in conjunction with the poverty of local school systems brought into the classrooms as teachers the poorly-educated sons and daughters of their miners, and so mediocrity was encouraged both openly and tacitly (Caudill, 1962:132). For children who, as a cultural group, had previously received only sporadic formal instruction, the lackluster quality of education received from people who held their positions, not because of a love of teaching, but because they were being rewarded with a source of income by the local political machine, did nothing to stimulate their desire for more education (Caudill, 1962:132). So the Appalachian schoolchild's desire was and still is to comply in a minimal fashion with the laws requiring education, and to leave the school house behind him as quickly as was legally allowed.

Mining's Legacy

For more than forty years in large regions of Appalachia, mining was a force to be reckoned with. It is no wonder then that the attitudes and values of the mountain man were affected, sometimes drastically, by the changes that mining brought into his life. For example, on the one hand the mining man was experiencing a new sense of prosperity, but on the other hand his feelings of insecurity regarding the future were also reinforced:

...he does not look forward to tomorrow with pleasant anticipation. For generations, his life has been hard and uncertain. The sharp limit to the amount of land available for supporting his increasing family; its low productivity, because of his unscientific methods; the uncertainty of life in the mines, where he was never sure that he would come out of the hole alive after the shift; the insecurity of life tomorrow if the breadwinner were maimed or killed in the mines, and the family was forced to move; the chance of the cut-off slip coming without warning--all were factors which led the mountaineer to look, not ahead to an uncertain tomorrow, but back-

ward to a yesterday which was remembered, perhaps nostalgically, as being happier than today. Yesterday the family was still together. Children were still at home instead of away working. Parents were still alive. The old homestead was still standing. The old values held firm...(Weller, 1965:34).

In 1913 Horace Kephart described the mountaineers as "the people of do without" (1913:234). After years of intense exposure to consumerism via the company store, however, sociologist John Stephenson was led to state that a number of mountain folk have had their appetites whetted for material goods (1968:17).

Simultaneously with the advance of the Depression came an intensification of the United Mine Workers Union drives for recognition and legal status. While mine owners were reluctantly acknowledging the need for mechanization in order to reach and bring out coal from the deeper and more inaccessible seams, John L. Lewis, the Grand Old Man of the United Mine Workers, was demanding safety features, miners' benefits, and higher wages with increasingly strident authority (Caudill, 1962:204).

As the effects of the Depression deepened, many of the smaller, independent mines in Appalachia went bankrupt. The large mines mechanized, provided for their workers as had been demanded (but not until much blood had been shed during, literally, years and years of bitter rancor on both sides), and eventually laid off many workers because mechanization had made their jobs obsolete (Caudill, 1962:206).

John L. Lewis had carried a dream of a bright future for coal miners in Appalachia for too many years, and it had taken much longer to realize his goals than had first been envisioned. He had believed that there would be a place in the larger society for each and every hard-

working miner who was dispossessed as a result of mechanization because, at the time he'd begun his crusade, Lewis had observed one level of technology in operation. By the time his dream became reality, however, technology had advanced exponentially and many more men were thrown out of work than had been imagined. Moreover, mechanization technology was being utilized in other budding industries, such as the auto workers' fields, and the vast overflow of manpower from the mines could not be absorbed easily (Caudill, 1962:258).

For many years John L. Lewis had insisted there were too many mines, that coal digging should be done by machines and that their operators should be highly paid. He had ruthlessly demanded that this process of consolidation and modernization be carried through. This policy had brought him merited renown as the foremost labor statesman in the nation's history. Mr. Lewis believed the displaced miners could be absorbed by other industry and that automation would bring improved health, better housing and higher standards of living generally. He demanded for the families of the coal miners a mode of living closer to the national norm. In many respects his great dream was realized. In others it was tragically aborted...(Caudill, 1962:258).

Next came the relief programs. State and federal aid suddenly became readily available, and all that was needed was for a man to be disabled (Caudill, 1962:280). He would not have to leave his family, his mountain home, his security, to travel with his little skill and less education to a foreign city in search of work. Few were the men who had not received some sort of injury in the mines at one time or another. Now, a great many of those old injuries suddenly gripped their possessors with fresh pain and debility. Relatives who had gotten higher educations returned home to work and to find that they were expected to demonstrate family solidarity. Doctors and welfare workers who were native sons were asked to approve family members for welfare (Caudill,

1962:281). Just as mining had become a family occupation, now so did welfare for some.

The Mountaineer Today

The marriage of these varied influences as molded by geographic isolation has produced a group that is unique and culturally divergent from mainstream America. While not separated out in a strict physical sense, as are the Amish, and seeming to adopt the appurtenances of the good life (for example, polyester and dishwashers), the descendants of these Scots-Irish settlers reveal themselves in a hundred different ways to the knowledgeable eye of the sociologist.

Independence: The quality of extreme independence in the mountain man has been mentioned before. After attempting to function in the larger culture for many years and realizing his relative powerlessness, it seems that the mountain man's independence is mutating into something that is less action and more reaction. Stephenson comments: "The willing dependence but assertive independence, which is typical of the traditional subculture, is characterized by a certain obstinacy, and an unwillingness to acknowledge most authority, and a strong assertion that one is self-willed..." (1968:104). Jack Weller observed this same trait in action during his thirteen years spent working in Appalachia. He is not a sociologist, but he does attempt to explain what he observed:

Here, through the generations, a subtle but significant change took place. Independence has become individualism, which includes independence but has a different direction. On the one hand, independence means simply a certain autonomy of person in the way one lives and thinks and acts. A man with independence may well work in his own way for a cooperative and common good...

Individualism, on the other hand, has a self-directed quality in it: a man works, perhaps in independent ways, with his own gain or

well-being in mind. It is to this quality of individualism that the mountaineer's independence has come. All that he does has the self and its concerns at heart. He is self-centeredly independent, so that even if he does join a group his intention, however unconscious, is that the organization shall serve his own personal interests and needs...He does not conceive of the 'public good' except as it coincides with his own 'private good'...(1965:30-1).

This is the mountain man's expression of independence today as viewed by two outsiders, one a social scientist and the other a minister.

Present-time orientation: This concept has been touched upon before in this thesis. While different authors call it different names, the descriptions tally. In the book by anthropologist George Hicks, the description is as follows: "There is also nostalgia for a past of greater cohesiveness, less disturbance from the outside and greater trust..." (1976:viii). Sociologist Stephenson says:

The traditional subcultural outlook in Shiloh [Appalachian community being studied] takes its cues from the past to a certain extent, but the past culture itself seems to have been pretty much oriented to its present so that the predominating quality of the present subculture is one of present-orientation...(1968:94).

People with a present-time orientation do not make complicated plans for the future or even for tomorrow; they tend to take life as it comes. This trait is often found in unsophisticated societies and is sometimes considered a marker of "lower class" people because it is in such strong contrast to the future-orientedness found in a highly technological society. It tends to be accompanied by the trait of person-orientation.

Person-orientation:

One of the key dimensions of the traditional outlook concerns the meaning of human relationships. In this subculture kinship...and friendship are among the most important things in life. Even when people are disliked, they are disliked with a certain quality of depth and intimacy that may appear to the outsider as unduly intense. People are judged in personal terms, on the basis of who they are, how they act toward other people, and what their pasts have been.

This outlook extends to work and commercial relationships...(Stephenson, 1968:99).

Stephenson also quotes a foreman to the point that the mountain men, while good workers, rely too heavily upon their personal relationships in the organization and with their supervisors in considering whether or not to stay or leave (1968:24). This same trait is a genuine stumbling block to the mountain man dealing with hierarchy. Simpkins, himself a mountaineer, describes his disgruntlement when, upon carrying a complaint to one level of authority at Marshall University, the person with whom he has spoken does not attempt to resolve the difficulty, passing it on instead to the worker in charge of that category of problem (1974:41).

Oral tradition: Harry Caudill (1962:xi), among others, recognizes the importance of the oral tradition to the mountain folk. Perhaps this quality is partially a result of the Celtic imagination coupled with the dearth of facile literary skill. At any rate, the mountain people enjoy a reputation--not undeserved--for "yarning":

Mountain people become dramatic easily. In moments of excitement and anger they rise to superb heights in the quality of their rhetoric. In reciting personal experiences...they display qualities which belong to the best of oral literature. They love figures of speech, trenchant epigrams, compound oaths, and superlative phrases, but at the same time they have scrupulous regard for the exact detail and the actual fact (Williams, 1961:153).

Conversational ritual: Oddly enough, these same people who love to talk lack certain conversational rituals (Simpkins, 1974:41-2). For many years they interacted so very little with people outside their own milieu that they learned little about how to begin and develop a conversation with strangers, how to wind it down and close it out. Since the people are person- rather than event-oriented, timing and schedules carry little

weight with them. The outcome of these factors is a people who sit down and slip immediately into the middle stages of building a conversation. "Building" is the operative word here. Mountain people tend to construct, brick by brick, an edifice that leads conclusively to their main point (Simpkins, 1974:42). This often results in a conversational flow that is actually a stream of lengthy monologues (each one often a vignette in its own right), and in a people who consider it a grave discourtesy to interrupt a speaker in mid-discourse.

Easy-going approach to life: The kind of conversational ritual described above would not be possible among a people who were less easy-going. Simpkins states: "Appalachians get their easy-going way of life from the Scotch-Irish influence" (1974:42). While Simpkins is considered an authority on the heritage of the mountaineer, one might wonder if that dour, upright Calvinist ancestor does not have to yield credit to the Indian influence on this point. Because of their extreme closeness to their environment and a related dependence on its cooperation with them in all sorts of ways such as weather, crops, availability of wildlife, etc., a phlegmatic acceptance of what life dealt was a prerequisite of Indian life (Holzinger, 1961:229). Perhaps this was one of the attitudes the Indians shared with their new white neighbors--especially through intermarriage.

Relationship with the land: Child psychiatrist Robert Coles believes that he has discerned in Appalachian schoolchildren a special closeness to and affinity for the land on which they live. He says:

What one finds in mountain children...is their developing intimacy with the soil and land surface and its variations--its changing height, its bodies of water, its ability to nurture food or supply

ore. Mountain children live closely together, but have wide distances to travel or use for play--always defined, it must be added, by the hills or mountains that for them are genuinely impassable. If cars come, they do so as an event, and animals are as familiar as the automobile engine. What animals teach children, and how children use animals is itself a subject for an essay--though since psychiatrists seem to live in cities, I doubt that it will be written... (1967:502-3).

Several of the teachers interviewed mentioned this quality to the author, acknowledging an area of expertise for the mountain child that was all his own.

Barter: Swapping or barter was certainly one aspect of a way of life on the frontier. The Indians used it extensively, and so did the cash-poor mountaineer. He's not quite so cash-poor today, but he still loves swapping and the sometimes interminable dickering that can surround it (Simpkins, 1974:39).

The "toot" work pattern: Of an unusual behavior pattern which is typical of mountain people, Simpkins says:

There is a characteristic in Appalachia of working very hard for a time and then doing something else to relieve tensions or redevelop equilibrium...So they tend to go on a 'toot' every month or six weeks. The workers in Detroit do the same thing. Supervisors up there know the Appalachians as people who will, suddenly, without any reason whatsoever, from their point of view, take off and go home for a visit...The Army has encountered this with Appalachians; as a matter of fact, some areas of the Army, the Infantry particularly, make allowances for this (1974:39-40)

Coupled with their drinking habits, their world-view of being person-oriented and present time-oriented, and their easy-going approach this "toot" pattern has helped earn the mountaineer the appellation of "lazy" from many critics.

Pride versus humility: It must be remembered that this is not a middle-American culture under examination, and many of the values held

in Appalachia are the values of a by-gone day for the rest of the country. Some of the other characteristics of the mountaineer that reflect this old-fashioned viewpoint can be observed in the extreme pride that he takes in his family, his home, his church and his country. And yet, in conversation with him as an individual, one is quickly impressed by the humble attitude he has of himself and his own self-worth. A lack of self-esteem or an attitude of being downtrodden is not being described here. The men and women who display this trait, and they are many in the mountain culture, believe that they are free individuals, having to yield ground to no one (Simpkins, 1974:43). Rather, what the people seem to be revealing by this attribute is a keen awareness of themselves as very small cogs in the immensity of creation. This interpretation comes from the author of this thesis.

Trust versus distrust: The mountaineer is suspicious of outsiders. Every author who makes mention of Appalachia seems to fasten early onto this observation. Many authors have also been surprised by the extent of the mountaineer's candor, once he gives his trust (Hicks, 1976:viii).

Love of the mountains: Another outstanding trait is the mountaineer's deep, intense and abiding love of home:

They love the hills and every holiday is marked by the cars with out-of-state license plates returning to visit home and kin...They just get lonesome for home...They seem to be tied to the hills long after they leave the area...And whenever they die they want to be buried back here...Cause they've got some kind of love for these hills (Simpkins, 1974:44).

It is almost as though the modern mountain man is still quietly reveling in the pleasure and attachment his ancestor must have felt when, after generations of frustrations in Scotland and Ireland, he finally

planted himself and his family along with his garden in a land that was really his own. This quality stood out clearly to Stephenson also as he did sociological research in the community of Shiloh:

It was clear, however, that few persons wanted to uproot themselves from this place permanently...As one man said simply, 'I've been a lot of places in my life, but I've never found Shiloh.' There was a strong sense of loyalty, belongingness or at-homeness, a feeling that was well expressed by a couple who said they had thought about moving out but decided they wouldn't be happy elsewhere. The wife was asked what she thought would make her unhappy living on the outside. She replied, 'Well, it's the little things, things that make your way of life. We have old friendships, old family ties here that have meant so much to us...living outside just wouldn't be home, if you know what I mean...' Her husband added, 'The way I feel, I was borned here and this is my home. I like to go to church here. It's just home.' (1968:22-3).

Patriarchal households: All of the authors except Simpkins called the mountain family basically patriarchal in structure, and it is the experience of the author of this thesis that mountain families in southern West Virginia are patriarchal in nature. Stephenson, however, goes on to clarify his position by giving examples of the "hidden" authority and power that women often exercise in the mountain family (1968: 77-3). Simpkins may be referring to this balance of power when he advances his valuation of equal status in the home (1974:43-4).

Separation of men's and women's worlds: On the other hand, it may be of the distinct separation made between the man's activities and the woman's in Appalachia that Simpkins is thinking when he writes of equal status. Stephenson describes many social occasions in which both men and women engage simultaneously, the men working together and the women in their own group (1968:109). In addition, many of the mountain man's activities are implicitly masculine in nature and are engaged upon with other men, even as his women-folk are relishing their opportunities to

fellowship with other women (Stephenson, 1968:109).

Strong family ties: The mountaineer feels a strong loyalty to family, so strong indeed, that friendships, enmities and other alliances are still made to a certain extent in line with kinship ties. Speaking of Shiloh, Stephenson said: "Familism--a primary loyalty to family before any other group or principle--is to a degree characteristic of certain sectors of this community" (1968:105). The clan may be considered by some to be an out-moded concept, but it and the behavioral patterns that flourish around it are still alive and well in Appalachia (Simpkins, 1974:45). The feud is not commonly practiced in this second half of the twentieth century in all its violent expressions, but its outlines may be discerned as certain people or kinship groups refuse to associate with certain others. And, when traced, the reasons for these actions are often found to go back many years, sometimes having little or nothing to do with the current practitioners.

Religious Beliefs

West Virginia native and pastor Dr. B.B. Maurer says of the mountaineer's religion:

Our mountain ancestors saw their world and their lives in a religious framework, and they expressed its meaning in powerful, vivid religious terms--a vocabulary which is almost lost today, and its words seldom heard in most homes. They were powerful, life-shaking, soul-stirring words like sin, evil, hell, lust, lost, hate, wickedness, damnation, judgment, perdition, and wonderful words of eternal promise--love, joy, hope, peace, glory, redemption, conversion, salvation,...and they filled their hearts with hope and strength.

These were the religious tools (concepts) with which they hammered out meaning on the anvil of life and they did it with powerful effect on the lives of men (1974:175).

The early mountaineer's religious beliefs permeated every aspect of his

life, and one way that his devotion to his religion is reflected is in the many names drawn from the Bible for his children, his animals, his communities.

Yesterday: The Scots-Irishman who first settled Appalachia was not a highly educated man, and the majority of his church leaders did not accompany him into the mountains of Appalachia. "The first settlers of Appalachia mainly were Presbyterians, as became Scotch-Irishmen, but they fell away from that faith, partly because the wilderness was too poor to support a regular ministry..." (Kephart, 1913:268). The Presbyterian Church was already active in the United States when the Scots-Irishmen came over, but the church was busily establishing footholds in the cities of the eastern seaboard (Weatherford, 1955:42). It took time for the church to become aware that many (previous) communicants were out-of-sight up the creeks and hollows in almost inaccessible mountain strongholds--nearly two hundred years to be exact.

Between 1890 and 1910 many missions were begun in rural areas of Appalachia and a number of fine parochial schools opened their doors to the mountaineer's children (Weatherford, 1955:42). But, in many ways, this move came too late for the mountaineer. For nearly two hundred years he had been thrown back onto his own inner resources, largely doing without the oversight, the direction and the motivation that a regularly established network of churches can provide. His religious beliefs were still set in granite, but they had become for him less a personal *raison d'etre* and more a tradition. While clinging stubbornly to the King James Version of the Bible, for example, the mountaineer slipped in to such a semi-literate state that he could scarcely benefit from its

teachings should he open it. Lay preachers did arise, and the people rejoiced in the opportunity for church fellowship. But, because the mountain people could not easily check the scriptures for themselves, they were prey to the ignorant and the ill-educated.

Within fifty years after their mission work in Appalachia had finally been entered upon with such zest, the Presbyterian Church found itself again concentrated in the cities, this time because the issues of social action had become the rallying cry of the younger leadership. Many of social action's corollaries were to be found in the cities in concentrated form: slums, racism, disease, crime, alcoholism, etc. (Weatherford, 1955:46).

Today: There was, nevertheless, a wind of revival that blew through Appalachia during the first half of the twentieth century, giving fresh strength and body to some of the inhabitants (Maurer, 1974:179). Dr. Maurer describes the new faith built on the old foundations as demonstrating: "(1) an intensely personal relationship with God,...(2) a sense of independence built upon the security of God's love,...(3) an ability to withstand hardship and deprivation,...(4) the ability to accept people as they are,...and (5) a strong and lasting joy" (1974:177-9). It can be seen that many of these characteristics are reinforced by similar traits and principles in the mountaineer's heritage. In many ways it seems that the mountaineer has come full-circle in his religious life, and the realization of this fact is one reason for the present-day mountaineer to hold more firmly to his traditional beliefs, even if he himself is not a religious man. He greatly respects the beliefs of his family and his friends, and he feels that the old ways have been once more proven of

value. In closing, it should be mentioned that Stephenson, working in Shiloh just prior to 1968, felt he had uncovered a definite lack of interest in the church among young adults in that community. Stephenson attributed this lack of interest to the fact that church leadership was reserved for older people possessing authority and prestige within the church body (1968:31).

A Compendium:

Balancing all these cultural factors and melding them into an accurate image of the mountaineer today in order to give some comprehension of why he does what he does, one begins to discern the profile of a misunderstood people. A series of contradictions seems best to describe the mountaineer at this point.

He's sitting on a poor piece of land, but it represents Home to him as Heaven does to a saint, and his love for it is as unwavering--although he's not often willing to find out what he could do to improve it. He doesn't always handle money well, but then he's not much of a consumer anyway--even if he did just buy his wife a new microwave oven. He might be quite a drinker--of milk as well as of whiskey. He has a poor education, and he doesn't really want any more, but he holds educated people and particularly his children's teachers in high esteem. He requires his children to respect and obey their teachers, but he also allows them to skip school and to tell the teachers they're just waiting until they turn sixteen and can legally drop out of school. He's as independent as "a hawg on ice", but he has perforce become willing to stand numbly and dumbly and receive welfare for year upon year. His per-

sonal standards are old-fashioned and strict, yet he permits his children to play havoc with them at will--and his children are going to be mirror images of him in this irony within twenty years. He sees people as people rather than in roles, but he has difficulty dealing with people who are in positions of authority to him.

He's hot-blooded and will fight at the drop of an eyelash, but he's a pushover for his wife, his children, or animals. He can be merciless to an enemy--or to an enemy's family or friends, but to his own family and friends he has inalienable ties that he gladly claims. He's an honest, responsible, hard-working man--until he takes off for a week or six. He's both oversuspicious of strangers and overquick to trust them, once initial overtures have been made. He values both his heritage and his color TV, but if he were forced to choose between them, there would be no contest. His culture has been fractured, but he doesn't know it, and as long as he doesn't have to leave his beloved mountains in order to support his family, he's a happy man.

CHAPTER 3

THE LANGUAGE

Prefacing Discussion: Is Appalachian English a Language?

This chapter will first discuss the basis for calling AE (as Appalachian English shall henceforth be designated) a linguistic variety in its own right. Next it will describe the phonological features, the grammar and the lexical file of AE.³

The first issue which will be examined very briefly before proceeding with the linguistic description is whether or not this thesis is justified in calling AE a linguistic variety in its own right. This issue of a separate linguistic variety is here touched upon because scholars from other fields of expertise have stated that there is nothing out of the ordinary occurring linguistically in Appalachia that a little more education wouldn't cure (Graff, 1962:198), or that the speech in Appalachia is Elizabethan, unchanged by the years (Williams, 1961:153). Judgments of this kind have largely served to muddy the water for those who must cope with language variance in Appalachia. Erudite publications do not often directly touch the lives of speakers of AE. But the teachers in Appalachia today are for the most part a well-educated group of people and desire to be of assistance to their pupils. When a teacher in Appalachia picks up an academic publication on the region in order to gain understanding of his or her mountain pupils, the teacher deserves and the needs of the child demand accuracy.

"Areas where the older forms of a language are preserved are relic areas" (Wolfram & Fasold, 1974:74). Linguists who have devoted time and effort to the in-depth study of speech in Appalachia consider the Southern Appalachian Region to be a relic area. "Parts of the Appalachian Mountain range, isolated by a natural boundary, reveal a number of older English forms that have been replaced in other parts of the United States" (Wolfram & Fasold, 1974:74). Designating the Southern Appalachian Region a relic area does not, however, lend any credence to the "Elizabethan English theory." Indeed, in refutation of the notion that AE is intrinsically Elizabethan, unaltered by the years, Wolfram and Christian firmly state:

While certain features represent retentions from earlier periods, at the same time, there are others which are candidates for new developments in the grammar and phonology of English. No doubt, some of the features found in AE today will some day be considered integral parts of the phonology and grammar of standard American English. So, the truth is, that when AE is compared with standard English, it is more advanced in some areas and slower to change in others (1976:161).

In short, AE is a separate linguistic variety. It has some elements that have kept pace with the changes in Standard English, some that are archaic, and some that are neither but are simply AE.

In examining this very issue of AE as a separate linguistic variety, Walt Wolfram (one of the chief linguists to study AE) comes to the conclusion that AE has the right to be called a linguistic variety in its own right "in terms of the unique combination of linguistic characteristics rather than the existence of unique structures as such" (1977a:97). This description means that many of the elements of AE may be found in other linguistic varieties--a couple of phonological features in this language, some of the same lexical items in that one, a

few of the same syntactical forms in yet another language. So, AE is not unique in being the only language to contain any of these component elements, but rather in the combination of those elements, such combination occurring in no other single known language.

Finally, in concluding this discussion, it is here added that "it should be apparent that differences between AE and other varieties of English are highly systematic and regular; in no sense can AE be considered as an unworthy or haphazard approximation of more socially prestigious varieties of English" (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:3).

The Phonology

h-retention rule: One of the differences between AE and Standard English that is most fascinating to the outsider can be found in an explication of the h-retention rule. In Appalachia, among older speakers of the language, "it" and "ain't" are often pronounced as [hɪt] and [hent]. The contrast between the older and younger speakers on this point clearly demonstrates an example of language change since these archaic pronunciations can be traced directly back to the original pronunciation of these same words in Middle English (Wolfram & Johnson, 1982: 149).

At some point in the last three hundred years a rule came into existence among speakers of Standard English which required them to delete that initial h; this was called the h-deletion rule and is the opposite of the h-retention rule which is still operative in AE, still requiring its speakers to retain that initial h. Gradually that h-deletion rule moved completely through the English-speaking world, and initial hs fell

away, permitting those words to begin with a vowel, both in spelling and pronunciation. But "the h-Deletion Rule has been added only recently in Appalachian English, so that older speakers apply it in a limited way, while younger speakers apply it more broadly" (Wolfram & Johnson, 1982: 150). This last statement means that AE speakers still retain the initial h to a certain extent, thus obeying the internal constraints imposed by the h-retention rule. Wolfram and Johnson further posit that, as change continues, the context of Standard English's h-deletion rule could eventually be lost altogether, "thereby setting the stage for restructuring of the underlying form and loss of the h-Deletion Rule" (1982:156). So, in theory, at least, AE could continue on a divergent path from Standard English with regard to this rule.

Unstressed -ing: Descriptively, what takes place in this case is the substitution of an [n] for an [ŋ], in word final position. This substitution causes "running" to sound like [rʌnɪn] instead of [rʌnɪŋ], and "talking" to be pronounced as [tɔːkɪn] (in written accounts of vernacular dialogue these words might be written as "runnin'" and "talkin'"). While this is one of the best-known variables found throughout Standard English and all other varieties of English, it is interesting to note that, in AE, it occurs between 80% and 100% of the time when it is possible for it to occur, i.e., in unstressed syllables (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:62). This is a substantially higher incidence than occurs in any other English variety. Wolfram and Christian maintain that there is historical evidence to show that "the most common pronunciation of this form in early Modern English was apparently the -in' form, with the preference for the -ing form in some varieties of English gathering momentum

during the late 18th and 19th centuries" (1976:61).

Final consonant cluster plus plural: Another variation which is believed to be found only in AE is the way in which certain plural forms are constructed. In Standard English [ɪz] is added to form the plurals for words that end with a sibilant. Thus "hose" when pluralized is pronounced [hoʊɪz]. If the word to be pluralized ends with a voiceless sound other than a sibilant, it takes a simple [s] ending: "cat" is pronounced [kæts]. The last plural form in Standard English is found when the item to be pluralized ends in a voiced sound other than a sibilant. In this case, [z] is added and "tree" goes to [triːz].

AE uses these same three forms from Standard English but enlarges the environment in which the [ɪz] plural may be added (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:37). In those circumstances when the word to be pluralized ends in a consonant cluster, of which the penultimate sound is a sibilant and the ultimate a voiceless consonant, the plural obtained may be formed with the [ɪz] instead of with [s]. For example, the plural of "wasp" in AE would be pronounced [wæspɪz], "rusk" would go to [ræskɪz], and "guest" to [ɡɛstɪz]. It is believed that this form may have come into existence as an effort to reduce a complex consonant cluster (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:39). It has also been observed that this specifically AE form of pluralization can occur with possessive singulars as well, given the above-described phonological environment. For example, "the guest's bag" would have the word in question written phonetically as [ɡɛstɪz] again. This last bit of information comes from the author of this thesis as a native speaker of AE.

Intrusive t: The members of this small set represent another item

unique to AE, and one which is in constant use. This set is characterized by the addition of a t to the end of a member word. Examples are: "oncest", pronounced [wʌnst]; "twicest"--[twaɪst]; "acrosst"--[əkrɔst]; "clifft"--[klɪft]; "darest"--[dʌrst]. A more modern alternative for "darest" is the shortened form "dast" as in "he dast to water his hawks at my crick!"

As to origins, there are several different sources from which this set was collated. "Oncest" and "twicest" are considered to be members of that old family of words including "amidst", "betwixt", "amongst" and "against" (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:39). The Oxford English Dictionary says that "acrosst" is "apparently a blending of across and crossed" (1933:I:90c). Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary says that "darest" (or "dast" or "durst") is archaic in origin (1983:461b).

r-deletion: "AE participates to a limited extent in the deletion of r, but in ways which are somewhat different from that found in other varieties" (Wolfram & Christian, 1974:45). For example, r-deletion virtually never occurs within a word when the r is followed by a consonant, as in "fourth." Neither does it often occur when the r is found in a word-final stressed syllable such as is found in "before", although that particular occurrence is quite common in Vernacular Black English and among a certain subset of White Southerners.

r-deletion has been observed, however, in the word-final position of an unstressed syllable in AE. For example, in "father", "camper", and "regular" there occurs the opportunity for r-deletion to take place. This opportunity is further constrained by the beginning sound of the next word in the utterance. When the following word began with a vowel,

only 14% of Wolfram and Christian's respondents⁴ deleted the r compared to the 38% who deleted it preceding a consonant. Of this incidence, Wolfram and Christian comment that, in AE, it is "much less frequent than the levels of r-lessness found in many other varieties of English which are characterized by post-vocalic r-deletion" (1976:46).

Furthermore, r-deletion is to these two authors a blanket category including not only complete deletion of the element, but also those instances when the r is not actually deleted but is converted to a sound more akin to the schwa, [ə], than to an American English r. One appearance of this conversion would be the word "further" as pronounced by some speakers of AE: [fʌrθə]. Finally, these two researchers note that this might well be one item of AE which is detected much more in some regions of Appalachia than in others.

l-deletion: Wolfram and Christian feel that the post-vocalic l-vocalization (sounds like the final l sound of "wool": [w^{oo}l]) goes hand-in-hand with l-deletion as they consider that the former is establishing the environment in which the latter will take place. Thus, they are surprised to report that in AE, l-deletion is common and l-vocalization is very rare indeed (1976:48).

l-deletion occurs word medial preceding a labial consonant. According to Wolfram and Christian this makes such words as "wolf", "help", and "shelf" homophonous with such extant English words as "woof", "hep", and "chef" (1976:48). The author of this thesis is compelled to disagree with Wolfram and Christian on this particular point. What one hears in West Virginia when a child is asking a teacher for help is not: "teacher, wil'yuh *hep me?" but rather: "teacher, wil'yuh he'p me?". Although the

l has been dropped there has been left in its place a pulse which could be described as a glide on the preceding vowel. One finds it more accurate, therefore, to pronounce the word with the deletion as [wʌ^ɪf], [hɛ^ɪp], [ʒɛ^ɪf], and [kə^ɪm] for "calm."

Initial w-deletion: There are two unusual occasions of initial w-deletion which are found in AE, both occurring only in unstressed syllables. The fact that both these occasions seem to be the result of an extension of the w-deletion rule for Standard English makes these deletions all the more interesting (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:56). One example is an extension of the Standard English rule for changing the verb forms "will" and "would" into contractive forms, but in AE this rule is expanded to apply to the verb forms "was" and "were" as well. Wolfram and Christian show both the more common deletion where the form is reduced until there is nothing left but a voiced sibilant: "He'z hunting turkey yesterday, I know he was" (1976:57), and the less common variant of this same kind of deletion where the form still retains a vocoid quality preceding the voiced sibilant: "...he'uz runnin' up the road a-hollerin'" (1976:57).

The other example of the extension of a Standard English w-deletion rule is observed in operation in the pronunciation of the word "one" in its usage meaning "person(s)" or "item(s)" (Websters new, 1968:967). In the vernacular, it would be written as "young'uns" or "this'n." While this is not unique to AE, being as a rule also found in Vernacular Black English and Southern English on occasion, it is a common phonological occurrence in AE as part of a package of items that compose the pronunciation system of AE (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:57).

Voiced fricatives preceding nasals: Another characteristic of AE which is held in common with some other varieties is found in the changing of certain voiced fricatives into voiced stops. Typically, the voiced fricatives which undergo this change are /z, v, and θ/ when they precede nasals. /z/ and /θ/ go to [d] as in [dʌdn̩'] and [hiθdn̩'] (phonetic spelling of "doesn't" and "heathen" after this change takes place). In some regions of Appalachia the /v/ has been reported to go to its voiced stop [b] as in [sɛbn̩] ("seven"), according to Wolfram and Christian (1976:59). The author of this thesis must add that, in her area of southern West Virginia, she has observed very little of this particular change.

Final, unstressed ow: Wolfram and Christian note that "one of the characteristic aspects of the AE phonological system most noticeable to outsiders [upon entering Appalachia] involves the alternation of final ow forms with er" (1976:66). One example of this substitution is, in vernacular script, "narrer" for "narrow", or "holler" for "hollow."

Since other words such as "potato" and "tomato" are pronounced with that final ow sound, they are also subject to this change: [pətetɹ] and [təmetɹ]. In extending this rule, suffixes can be added on after the substitution has occurred: [pətetɹs], and [swaləɹɪn] (for "swallowing"), etc. (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:66).

Final unstressed schwa: Several varieties of English pronounce a word final /a/ as a schwa; for example, "soda" is realized phonetically as [sodə]. This can only take place, of course, in an unstressed syllable. In AE that unstressed final schwa converts to a high front vowel, causing the word in question to be pronounced like this: [sodi] (in

vernacular writing, "sody"). In extension this rule also applies to items like "kinda" which is a blend of "kind" and "of" and has been treated for many years as though it were one item in colloquial speech. Thus, the resultant sound is written as "kindy" and pronounced [kaⁱndi]. Wolfram and Christian remark that both this rule and the preceding one on final, unstressed ow seem to be found more in the older age groups in AE (1976:67).

Concluding remarks on phonology: There are a number of other sound system changes which take place to a greater or lesser extent in AE, either with all age groups or with a certain age group, but these are changes that are also taking place in the sound systems of other varieties of English. Any difference between the usage in AE and elsewhere would be quantitative, and that only to a small degree of difference.

Sound system changes usually stand out more to the attention of the newcomer than do grammatical and lexical differences. But they are only one category of the several that give difficulty to the child speaker of AE when he enters the classroom.

Grammar

Some of the most far-reaching differences between AE and Standard English are to be found in this category. The differences are here designated "far-reaching" because the child speaker of AE carries a record of his grammar use with him throughout his school career. Every first-grader in the United States must take a standardized skills test in the spring of their first grade year. In West Virginia and in many other states in the eastern United States the test favored is called the Com-

prehensive Test of Basic Skills.⁵ The grammar section of the test carries a great deal of weight, and the results become a part of each child's permanent record, following him and labelling him throughout his entire school career. It seems unreasonable to expect that a child who speaks a separate linguistic variety can slough off five or six years of daily experience with his language and successfully adopt the grammatical forms of the mainstream variety in all possible uses in the six months of school preceding the test.

So, while phonological features of AE are often more noticeable and are highlighted because their presence is a simple indicator of AE in operation, it is in the area of grammar that some of the most pervasive and hard-to-change features of AE are found. These items are here named "pervasive" because, on the decoding to meaning continuum, the grammar that a man or woman uses is a totality, sometimes reflecting part of the deeper belief system or philosophy of the individual. And, because it is easier for an individual to alter surface forms (such as phonological elements) than it is to alter deep structure (where some of the grammatical differences between AE and Standard English are to be found), this also contributes to the "hard-to-change" appellation.

The importance that the mountain man's culture places on tradition is nowhere more clearly seen than in the many archaic forms of AE grammar. And the presence of that traditional view of life is another reason why it is so difficult for teachers to successfully convert children from AE grammatical forms to those of Standard English--the teachers are bucking not only the belief system of the child, but also his cultural mind-set.

a-prefixing: The grammatical analysis of the cause and purpose of a-prefixing is extremely complex. Wolfram (1980) recently devoted thirty-five pages to such a discussion, so any information given in this thesis is, obviously, going to be simplified and superficial. Written in the vernacular, examples of a-prefixing would appear as follows: "He was goin' a-huntin'", "He went a-fishin' last week." Historically speaking, it is one of the oldest grammatical forms in use in the United States today. G.P. Krapp, a language historian says:

In phrases like these, the construction is historical, the a- being a weakened form of the Old English preposition an in unstressed position, and hunting, fishing, etc., being originally verbal nouns which have been assimilated in form, and to a considerable extent, in feeling, to present participles. Starting with these phrases, however, the a- has been prefixed to genuine present participles, after forms of to be and other verbs, (Krapp, 1925:II:268).

After dividing the occurrences of a-prefixing into several different categories, Wolfram observes that the most frequent use of this form is with progressives: "This man'd catch'em behind the neck and they'd just be a-rattlin'" (1980:110). It may also appear in embedded sentences where the wh relational +be have been deleted: "I had twelve children and I got two dead and ten a-livin'" (Wolfram, 1980:110). But, from all the respondents who were checked on this form, Wolfram says they found it to be most commonly used with verbs of perception: "...and I heard something a-snortin' coming up the hill..." (1980:110). Another regular occurrence of the form is with movement verbs: "All of a sudden a bear come a-runnin'..." (Wolfram, 1980:112).

After a lengthy and careful explication and a checking of other sources, Wolfram concludes:

What we shall claim here is that all a-prefixed participial forms are derived from prepositional phrases, and that a- itself comes from a preposition...

The postulation of an adverbial prepositional phrase as the basis for all a-prefixed forms necessarily involves interpreting progressives as derived from prepositional phrases, since this is one of the main constructions where a-prefixed forms are found (1980: 117).

Wolfram comments in the body of his work on a-prefixing that some previous analysts have believed there was a continuative aspect to the use of a-prefixing, a conclusion with which he felt he had to disagree, based on the data he'd collected. The author of this thesis, as a native speaker of AE, finds herself forced to dispute Wolfram's conclusion on this one aspect of a-prefixing. A-prefixing was and still is extremely common in this author's area of Appalachia, and this author has long been quite certain of the continuative aspects of a-prefixing. For example, to the author's native speaker intuition, these two sentences carry two separate, if subtly distinct, messages: "Cousin Howie was workin' on his car last evenin'", and "Cousin Howie was a-workin' on his car last evenin'." To this author the second sentence says that Howie spent most, if not all, of last evening working on that car. In comparison, the first sentence is interpreted to mean that, sometime during the evening, Howie worked on his car for a few minutes. This difference of opinion chiefly sheds light on the complexity of the problem facing the teacher of the child speaker of AE,

Subject-verb agreement: In Standard English there are paradigms given to help the student of English determine which verb inflections accompany which subjects with regard to first, second and third person, singular and plural forms. These paradigms date back to Old English and

have undergone considerable change throughout the years. Due to the standardizing of the language, most speakers of modern English have a very good idea of which verb endings can be used with which subjects, even if they are not always themselves perfectly consistent in applying these principles. In AE:

...be departs somewhat from the paradigm described by maintaining some of the older inflectional distinctions. The first and third person singular present forms (am and is) contrast with the form used for second person singular and all plurals (are). Number agreement also is retained to some degree in the past tense, where first and third singular subjects occur with was and the other subjects take were (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:76).

There is also a much greater possibility of alternation in AE in the past forms of be than in the present forms. So, was is more likely to appear for Standard English were, and is used "predominantly for both singular and plural subjects, much like the pattern in which a single form is used for the past tenses of other verbs" (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:77).

Another area in AE grammar which does not conform to the Standard English paradigm on subject-verb concord is in the matter of plural subjects. There are four general categories in which AE subject-verb concord does not follow the pattern of Standard English. With examples:

Conjoined Noun Phrase:

'Me and my sister gets in a fight sometimes.'

Collective Noun Phrase:

'People's not concerned.'

Other Plural Noun Phrase:

'...no matter what their parents has taught'em.'

Expletive there:

'There was 5 in our family.' (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:78).

Irregular verb forms: Wolfram and Christian explain:

Old English had seven morphologically defined classes of irregular or 'strong' verbs which by the Middle English period had begun to break down...Many of these irregular forms acquired regularized (i.e., -ed suffixed) counterparts and then disappeared, leaving the regularized form.

In some varieties of English, these irregular verbs have alternant past forms which differ from what is typically considered the standard (1976:80).

The quotation above describes exactly what is happening in AE. Children are using legitimate old English forms which have been passed down and arrived amazingly intact to spring from the lips of a twentieth century child. And when teachers in Appalachia hear their schoolchildren say such things as: "Teacher, I et all my lunch"; or "I throwed him th' ball, 'n he keeped it!"; or "I taken my l'il sister to th' crick"; or "I heared th' frogs agin las' night"; or "When he give it back it was broke"; they want to throw up their hands in despair. Many teachers are caused by this kind of data to assume a breakdown in the child language acquisition process which, in turn, implies lower mentality, or, at the least, learning disability.

Perfective done: The use of done as a perfective marker implies an action which is to be considered completed beyond doubt. Some examples illustrate this. "He done come a-runnin'" (even without time margins this sentence declares itself as a past, completed action), or "she's done gone" tells the listener that the speaker has sure knowledge that "she" really has left and is not, perhaps, still dawdling in the garage. It is also occasionally used for narrative emphasis: "When I was a boy, if you seen a woman's knee, you had done seen something!" (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:89).

Elizabeth Traugott, a language historian, says with regard to this

peculiar use of done:

The ME [Middle English] period saw the development of a further segmentalization of the perfective, as in 'I have done gone.' The origins of this...are as obscure as that of the other do auxiliaries... In the South this construction did not survive past the fifteenth century. In Northern England it remained common, however...(1972: 146).

Recalling that AE as an English form is traced directly back to the northern part of the English Isle, perhaps it should not be surprising to find this particular grammatical form in Appalachia.

Comparatives: In AE not only does the pattern for forming comparatives differ from Standard English (as do those in some other non-mainstream varieties), but also it has a means of regularizing some of the irregular comparatives. This means that both "hatefulest" and "worser" are found in AE, the first as an irregular comparative and the second as the result of the addition of the suffix to the irregular form in a subconscious attempt to achieve conformity (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:100). The other item in this set of features that differs from most Standard English varieties is "the use of both the comparative adverb before the item as well as the addition of the suffixial form" (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:100). One example is "Most craziest man..."

-ly absence: In Standard English there are a number of adjectives which, when functioning adverbially, must take the -ly ending, such as "originally", "frightfully", "terribly", "sincerely", "certainly", etc. There is also a set of a few words of this kind which are not required by colloquial Standard English to take that -ly ending: "fast", "wrong", "right", "quick", and so forth. Examples in sentence form would be phrased like this: "The fast brown fox...", and "The brown fox ran fast."

But, in AE, this optional -ly-deletion as shown in the previous sentence is a set with a much larger membership (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:105). "I stayed up awful late", "It was a terrible rough road", "He's natural born a teacher" demonstrate this expanded concept in action.

Multiple negative: Multiple negation of some form or other is a common feature of most non-mainstream varieties of English. Perhaps what one finds interesting about its occurrence in AE is its occasional use for emphasis in oral discourse: "They warn't no more cookies, no how!" One is reminded of the well-developed oral tradition of Appalachia and, in the face of the reduced importance of written discourse to the mountaineer, one can better understand why strongly flavored metaphor and other elements of oral discourse are so admired.

The other chief fact of interest in multiple negation in AE is its possible source:

...multiple negation as we have discussed it...is a rule which is well-documented in the history of the English language. Citations from Old and Middle English abound where the multiple negation copying rule can be shown to be the predominant if not the exclusive pattern for forming negatives with indefinites.

Quite clearly, allowing only one negative element to appear in a sentence was a relatively recent change in the dialect of Early Modern English that became recognized as the standard English norm (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:111).

Use of ain't: Most speakers of Standard English consider themselves to be in possession of two facts about ain't: (1) it's improper, and (2) it has vague historical validity. It is mentioned here because of the latter point and because it is in such wide use, in such determined fashion, by so many social groups and across generations in AE. Historically, there are considered to be two sources from which ain't stemmed: "First, it was derived from a contraction of have + not, where

have or has + not became han't, which became hain't, and eventually ain't" (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:114). The second source is believed to be am + not which underwent a similar evolutionary process to the first example to arrive at ain't (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:114).

Wolfram and Christian's respondents indicate conclusively that, while ain't is in use in all varieties of English, quantitatively it enjoys its widest usage in AE. In keeping with this, AE speakers also seem to eschew isn't and aren't in favor of ain't to a much greater extent than is found in other varieties of English.

Plurals: A quick comparison of this section with the section on pluralization in the Phonology discussion (page 37) reveals that those changes explained under the heading of phonology take place specifically because of the phonological environment present. One proof of the preceding statement is found in the fact that the phonological changes take place in different grammatical conditions. Whereas the changes discussed in this section will be seen to be limited each to specific grammatical conditions.

There are a couple of kinds of interesting variations occurring in AE in plural forms. One is the absence of the plural suffixes /s/ or /es/ in certain circumscribed situations such as with nouns of weight and measure preceded by a quantifier: "two pound of butter", "...so many gallon", "a thousand foot off the road", "two mile to the store", "twenty year ago...", etc. (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:117). The other point of interest in pluralization is the evidence of language change that can be detected. From that point back in the history of the English language when feet gained approval as the plural of foot, or sheep as the plural

of sheep, conformity to the new form and fidelity to the pattern of change has moved through all groups of English speakers like capillary action. But in AE there is a certain group that still uses some of the archaic forms, one that uses a mixture of the archaic and the modern, and one that uses only the modern forms. Those members of the group that tends to use only the archaic forms tend to be the very elderly, or those who have lived in relative isolation with the very elderly. The middle group tends to be composed of people who are between middle and old age, while the last group extends from extreme youth to middle age.

Intensifying adverbs: In AE as in some other English varieties there are found adverbs which are used to intensify some characteristic or action. In AE these are rather more obvious than some of the other linguistic features so that these intensifiers and the use of them have become part of the stereotype of the mountain dweller. The two major items in this category are right and plumb, as in: "I was plumb wore out", or "It's a right cold day." Of these forms, Wolfram and Christian state:

Despite recognition of these forms by many speakers of English, they often carry nuances of meaning that sometimes make them difficult to describe precisely. Even apart from their meaning, their syntactic privileges are sometimes difficult to pin down, since there are overlapping syntactic contexts as well as contexts in which only certain submembers of this class can be used (1976:101).

As can be seen from the examples above, these intensifying adverbs can be used to modify adjectives. They can also be used to modify adverbs of manner and time: "I shot that bear right quick." Right can further be used in conjunction with smart to form a kind of subset with the right portion of the category of intensifying adverbs: "It's a right

smart ways to go." There is a difference syntactically, however, between the use of right and right smart, right being used alone to indicate an intensification of the attribute, but not to the full degree. Whereas right smart intensifies the impression one degree more and is generally only used with expressions of time and distance. Plumb, on the other hand, is used to add the notion of "completely" or "utterly" to the concept being modified.

Wolfram and Christian state that this particular use of the intensifier right dates back historically to the writings of the fifteenth century, and they cite sources to show its presence in the work of Shakespeare (1976:103). As has been previously stated, there are intensifiers of this type in other varieties of English, but this specific use of the word right has all but disappeared everywhere but in AE.

The Lexicon

Every separate linguistic variety has vocabulary aspects that are different. AE has an extensive vocabulary of its own, of which fact most speakers of Standard English are largely unaware. Sprinkled throughout the corpus of this paper to this point have been certain clues as to why this might be so. First of all, speakers of Standard English are largely unaware that Appalachian English is a linguistic variety in its own right. The lack of knowledge on this point inevitably contributes to the next misconception, i.e., that since the mountain dwellers are also considered to be fellow speakers of Standard English, the reason behind the different sounds in their utterances is simply because they are not pronouncing the words correctly. Thus, the one sub-

consciously making the evaluation is not saying: "That guy is pronouncing his words"; he is instead saying: "That guy is mispronouncing our words", not realizing that "that guy" might be pronouncing the words in question in a correct fashion, correct in terms of his variety--and in terms of an earlier stage of the evaluator's variety.

Tied to this first misconception is the issue of archaisms. Many of the words and terms in use in Appalachia are words that are passé in modern English (or at least out-dated in the AE meanings of the words). To the speaker of AE these items have a rich range of meaning as part of a proud tradition. To the speaker of modern English the choice of such words marks a man as quaint and behind-the-times, or, if the expression is old enough to be unknown outside of the circle of AE speakers, it can even denote ignorance.

Finally, clearing away the detritus of differing pronunciations and unfamiliar vocabulary, a lot of speakers of modern English will insist that the speakers of AE use exactly the same words as they do most of the time. And, to a large extent, this is true. But the question that then inevitably arises is: "Are these mutually intelligible words used in mutually intelligible contexts?" Upon examination, the answer must be: "No." The clarification follows.

In the analysis of grammar--any grammar, whether it be English or Urdu--there are found classes of words, called in English "parts of speech." In the study of linguistics it is considered that each class fills a specific "slot" in a sentence, so that a noun can be replaced only by another noun or by a part of speech acting like a noun (a gerund, for example). Many languages, including English, permit a limited

number of members of certain classes to fill slots from other classes. In Standard English, for example, some verbs can be nominalized to fill noun slots: "(to) swim" and "swimmer." Nouns in Standard English need no modification in order to move directly into a verb slot: "fish" and "(to) fish", "water" and "(to) water", etc. As mentioned before, this set which can shift classes is strictly circumscribed by Standard English speech conventions. In AE, however, this set has a much wider membership. There are many words that carry the same semantic meaning as nouns in both Standard English and AE: "bread", or "church", or "back" are all examples of this shared meaning between the two different linguistic varieties' noun classes. But, in AE, those three words also happen to fill verb slots as well: "He raiset 'nuff corn t' bread 'is fam'ly"; "Ther' goin' t' church 'im fer gamblin'"; "Will yuh back this letter fer me?"

One can sympathize with the shocked teacher who, believing that she has heard a Standard English word, discovers that its user has employed it in what she considers a disallowed context. One might sympathize more, however, with the child who simply uses his vocabulary in the same way that his family does, only to be told that he must change his way of speaking.

A few of the other examples of this zero derivation as found scattered throughout the book Bits of Mountain Speech are:

come (prep) by or about. 'They'll git here come night.'
 fall (v) to chop down. 'We're goin' to have to fall that tree.'
 flax (v) hurry. 'I'll flax around and git dinner.'
 hot up (v) make warmer. 'Please hot up my coffee.'
 meat (v) to supply with meat. 'One hog will meat us all winter.'
 much (v) pet, make over. 'He'll much a hound dog.'

pleasure (v) to give pleasure to or derive pleasure from. 'It pleased him a lot to go.'

poke (n) small bag, usually paper. 'Put hit in a poke.'

rock (v) to throw rocks at. 'Them boys rocked my house.'

spell (n) period of time. 'A long dry spell.'

writing (n) something written. 'They give him a writin' to take to the judge.' (Fink, 1974).

The next vocabulary category to be explicated here is that of archaisms. For those readers who still consider certain of these words as part of their personal vocabulary, if not part of their regular, daily speech, a reminder is necessary. A word, any word, is not in constant, popular use one day (or even one year) and outdated the next. An item's slip from public consciousness can be gradual or tumultuous. No matter. There will still be an accompanying transitional period during which an age-levelling process can be seen in the decline of the item. For example, at some point in this process, most young people will find the item unfamiliar, but a few young people--because of their culture or cross-generational contacts--will know what the item means, even though it is not part of their active vocabulary. Middle-aged people will use the item in certain domains, and older people will still include the item as a part of their vocabulary. This description is greatly simplified, of course.

A sub-category of this group could be considered archaic in that its members still operate fully in more than one class slot in AE, but are in the process of disappearing from the consciousness of Standard English speakers in one of their class slot roles. Examples are:

fault (v) to blame or criticize. 'They shouldn't fault him over that.'

favor (v) to resemble. 'The boy favors his daddy.'

mind (v) to care for. 'You mind the young'uns whilst I'm gone.'

plunder (n) household effects. 'They put all their plunder in one wagon.'

tree (v) to cause to take refuge in a tree. 'My dogs treed a monstrous big coon.' (Fink, 1974).

In 1983 the author of this thesis conducted a survey specifically with regard to words that had separate meanings in AE and in Standard English. On the short list just given, all of the words except "plunder" were within those used in the survey. Dividing the respondents into three age groups (age thirty-five and younger, thirty-five to fifty-five, and fifty-five and older) it was found that only 20% of the respondents in the age range of 35-55 recognized fault in both of its meanings. None of the other respondents knew both meanings. For favor 14% of those in the youngest group knew both meanings, 30% of the middle-aged group knew both meanings, but 50% of the oldest age group knew both. For mind, the statistics were exactly the same as for favor. But for tree only 7% of the youngest age group knew both meanings, compared to 70% for the middle group and 75% for the oldest group. These results seem to indicate to the author that there is a basis for considering valid the kind of language change exemplified in the previous list (McLaughlin, 1983: 17).

There are many examples of the larger vocabulary category of archaisms in AE:

abide (v) tolerate, endure. 'I can't abide them kind.'
 aim to (v) intend, plan. 'I aim to go.'
 a-nigh (prep) near. 'I'll shoot if he comes a-nigh me.'
 basement (n) basin. 'A little basement between the hills.'
 body (n) person. 'Hit won't do a body any good.'
 carry (v) take, accompany. 'I have to carry my woman to the doctor.'
 contrary (v) oppose. 'Don't contrary him none.'
 course (v) to follow a trail. 'He can course a bee to hits hive.'
 devil (v) tease or worry. 'Make him quit devilin' the dog.'
 dip (v) use snuff. 'Do you dip or chew?'
 discomfit (v) to inconvenience. 'Ef it don't discomfit ye none.'
 fetch (v) bring. 'Be sure to fetch some eggs.'

gant[ed] (adj) lean, gaunt. 'The house was bad ganted.'
 hurt for (v) need. 'The house is hurtin' fer a coat of paint.'
 keep (v) to remain in session. 'Will school keep next week?'
 lap (n) tree tops and limbs left on the ground after logging.
 likeness (n) portrait or picture.
 mast (n) acorns, chestnuts or beechnuts. [mash for hog feed]
 mess (n) a lot, meal, etc. 'A mess o' beans.'
 name (v) mention. 'You name hit to paw.'
 necessities (n) things needful. 'A feller has to carry his necessaries.'
 on (prep) about. 'I'll think on it.'
 own, own up to (v) acknowledge. 'He wouldn't own it as his'n.'
 poppet (n) doll. 'The least one was playing with hit's poppet.'
 quieten (v) to quiet. 'See if you can quieten him down.'
 rising (n) boil or carbuncle. 'She had a risin' on her neck.'
 scope (n) large tract of land. 'My brother heired⁶ a wide scope of land.'
 skift (n) small amount. 'Jest a light skift of snow.'
 tote (v) carry. 'How much can you tote?' (Fink, 1974).

The last broad category of lexical items contributing to misunderstanding is that involving pronunciation. By this is meant those words or terms which are in fairly regular use in Standard English today but which have older counterparts with a variant pronunciation. It is this variant pronunciation that the speaker of AE uses, thus lending credibility to the notion of his limited linguistic skills. Paul Fink (1974) lists a number of these as well, strewn throughout his book:

afeared (adj) afraid. 'He's afeared o' hants.' [hants deserves a listing of its own since it comes from haunts and means ghosts]
 creel (v) to reel, give way or fall. 'His leg creeled under him.'
 crope (v) crept. 'I crope up on a deer.'
 dreen (n) drain or gully. 'The fox was runnin' down the dreen.'
 dulcimore (n) pronunciation of 'dulcimer.'
 helt (v) held. 'They helt on tight.'
 mottley (adj) mottled. 'The red cow had a mottley calf.'
 painter (n) panther.
 passel (n) parcel, group of people. 'They was a passel of folks at the meetin'.
 sull (v) to act sullen, feign death. 'A possum'll sull when a dog katches it.'
 thoughty (adj) thoughtful. 'That was mighty thoughty of you.' [This term might be more properly viewed as a morphology difference.]
 whelps (n) welts. 'The whuppin' raised great whelps on his back.'
 whilst (conj) while. 'Eat some vittles whilst you wait.'

Closing Remarks

These lists of words were given here for a purpose. The items in each list are only a few of the possibilities within each category, but the teacher in Appalachia is being exposed to many more of each type every day in the classroom. With the addition of Appalachian pronunciation and grammar and with the child's family speaking from a cultural viewpoint that is different from the one that the teacher has, it is easy to understand why the teacher sometimes feels quite overwhelmed, despite the depth of his or her education and teaching experience. Teachers in Appalachia have changed considerably in the last forty years. For one, they have much more education than their earlier counterparts, and for another, they are partaking of the best, most up-to-date information that their professors can provide in terms of fresh insights into learning theory. The Appalachian child in the classroom has changed, too. But the dilemma of literacy as an ongoing competence for this child still remains a major one for various reasons.

With the advent of television and its spread into the most remote areas of the United States, the child who speaks a non-mainstream variety does not have to suffer the same devastating impact linguistically as did his earlier counterpart upon first entering the schoolroom. He can at least understand most of what is said to him. But this exposure is not altering his own speech production directly. Only to the extent that his parents partake of Standard English vocabulary in order to describe items outside their cultural frame has the child's vocabulary been expanded.

It appears, therefore, that more modernization of AE occurs in its

lexical file than in its grammar and phonology. One can imagine the bewilderment experienced by that earlier child in the presence of an authority who used his words in a way different from all the child had heard before. But the Appalachian child today still has two strikes against him. Shortly after entering school he must take an examination of several hours duration wherein he is asked time after time to set down the correct grammatical form for the situation described. True, he has had access to television and to the "Standard" English spoken there, but the figures of influence in his child's world do not speak that way, and he speaks as they do. A choice otherwise would be a choice against his family.

The second strike against him is that neither he nor the teachers nor his parents are aware that he speaks a different kind of language. Thus, early on, the child begins to develop a low opinion of his own intelligence. For this same reason, parents and even teachers sometimes feel forced to agree. Is it any wonder, then, that the child does not want to spend any more time than necessary in a setting where he feels hurt and put-down on a regular basis? A normal, healthy ego demands that one protect oneself against suffering as best one can. So what the child receives from his educational experience can be vastly different from what the educational system is trying to give him.

CHAPTER 4

THE SCHOOLS

The Regional Level

Any kind of information about schools in the Southern Appalachian Region is going to fall into two basic categories: statistical data and the impressions and opinions of the educated observer. "Educated observer" here means one whose background (either educationally and/or empirically) is in the field of study and who has spent sufficient time viewing the situation from the inside.

Wolfram and Christian give no statistics as such, but rather a blanket warning: "The literacy level in Appalachia is, for example, critically low when compared with that of other U.S. areas" (1976:2).

Harry Caudill does not give figures for Appalachian education, *per se*. He speaks instead of his native Cumberland plateau and its educational statistics as if they were characteristic of the entire region:

...the fact is that a million Americans in the Southern Appalachians live today in conditions of squalor, ignorance and ill health which could scarcely be equalled in Europe or Japan, or, perhaps, in parts of mainland Asia. For example, the 1960 census disclosed that 19 per cent of the adult population of the Southern mountain region can neither read nor write. Bell County, Kentucky, with a total population of 35,336, was found to contain 17,213 citizens twenty-five years of age or older. Of these adults, 1,018 had never attended school at all. In addition, 3,884 had attended school four years or less. Thus, 4,902 persons--substantially more than 25 per cent--were classified for all practical purposes, as functional illiterates (1962:xi-xii).

Orin Graff is a former public school teacher in Appalachia and, since 1945, has been a Professor of Education and an administrator in

the school of Education at the University of Tennessee. He writes:

In 1950, Southern Appalachian residents twenty-five years of age and older were significantly less well educated than the same age group in the nation as a whole. The median school years completed by persons twenty-five and older was 9.3 for the nation and 7.2 for the Region. The regional median was less than the median for any state in the union and less than that for any other economic region in the nation (1967:188).

Graff goes on to explain how the residents of the region have improved their educational record somewhat in the intervening years, but many students still fail to graduate. He says: "Between 1953 and 1959, even though improvement was marked, these systems [in the region] were still losing pupils at the rate of 10-20 percent between the sixth and ninth grades and from 44-63 percent before high school graduation" (1967:189). And the problem is not arising as the pupil enters high school and chooses, perhaps, between graduation and a job. From the very beginning, these youngsters are behind in their grade-level attainment. Calling the process "retardation", Graff cites a United States Department of Agriculture publication to the effect that, in 1930, there were 13 counties in the region in which 55 percent of the fourth graders were older than they should have been for that grade. He states: "It was once a common practice in some parts of the Region to keep all children in the first grade for two years" (1967:189). While the numbers have dropped somewhat--from 55 percent to 30.7 percent of the rural population in 1958, Graff recognized that retardation was still an indicator of a serious problem.

Being an educator, Graff proposed to shore up the failing system at the point at which his background enabled him to see a clear-cut deficiency. First, however, he had a few choice words about the solutions to

a common problem being fragmented and devitalized by the political boundaries delineating the individual states which the region covers. Then he got down to business and grimly compared the region with the nation as to per pupil expenditure. He writes:

The per pupil expenditures for the Region have remained at approximately 50 percent of the national per pupil expenditures...Over the 18 year period studied, per pupil expenditures were approximately quadrupled, going from \$54.01 per pupil in 1939-40 to \$218.14 in 1957-58. National expenditures were increasing proportionately with a 1957-58 per pupil expenditure of \$437.12 (1967:190).

The State Level

West Virginia is the only state which lies in the Appalachians in its entirety. It also is a typical representative of the school problems of the region and has declared war on them. Roy Truby, current state superintendent of schools, writes:

The entire nation is concerned with the school dropout problem. A great loss in human productivity and the consequent social deterioration continues to be perpetuated by the extremely large number of students that leave our schools each year prior to graduation. The State Department of Education...has conducted a study of student withdrawals annually since the 1968-69 school year. However, the results of each year's survey have been bleakly similar--West Virginia schools continue to lose far too many students who could profit greatly from additional schooling (White, 1981c:ii).

While the problem has only in recent years been formally entitled "the school dropout problem", it was recognized and described as such by educators in West Virginia sixty years ago. But the root cause as discerned by the educators then was the same point that Graff attacked: lack of sufficient funding. A pamphlet published by the State Department of Education in 1926 states:

This is why we say the situation is growing critical. In many sections of the state it is indeed acute, and the opponents of education are taking advantage of the complaints of overburdened taxpayers.

ers to cut down the school term from eight to six months. We believe the remedy lies in another direction (A brief summary..., 1926:10).

The "other direction" to which that author was referring was to increase revenue by raising taxes on industry. That is to say, he wanted to see the mining industry bear more of the burden of school financing. That pamphlet contains a table ranking West Virginia with the other forty-seven states on several dimensions. West Virginia was pronounced 38th in effort to pay for education, 34th in ability to pay, 35th as to the state share of its school support, 41st on its percentage of high school students, and 37th in per pupil expenditure (1926:11).

In the 1950's awareness of a further complication reached the point of publication. One of the steps of Appalachian culture fracture as delineated by Caudill (1962) included the placement in the schools of teachers who were, themselves, poorly educated. For the school year of 1952-53, state-wide in West Virginia, there were 4,443 teachers who did not have B.A. degrees, out of a total number of 16,420 teachers, elementary school through high school (41st biennial report, 1954:125). These figures represent only the public schools.

Adjustment on this issue remained under the jurisdiction of the local--that is, county--school board until the mid-seventies. Until that time, each county system did what was right in its own eyes, and each established its own standards. Accordingly, some counties had very high standards indeed and, of course, commensurate salaries. The neighboring county might be as poor as Job's turkey, not only in the amount of money spent on the average child, but also in the quality of education received by the average child. But in the 1970's when the State Board of

Education standardized teacher education requirements and teacher salaries, the overall educational quality in the state received a tremendous boost.

In the interests of balance, however, it must be added that many schoolchildren in Appalachia have, in the opinion of this author, received fine, basic educations from experienced and dedicated teachers who did not all happen to have college degrees. The question at hand is whether or not those children were, in and of themselves, always equipped to utilize the education they received. And, perhaps it should go without saying, the acquisition of a college degree in education seems bound to enhance anything that any teacher has to offer.

Another complicating factor that surfaced in the early fifties was that already touched upon by Graff--pupil retention.⁷ In the Appendix is reproduced a table from a Special Statistical Number on "Pupil Loss in the First Twelve Years in the Public Schools of West Virginia." One set of figures that especially demands the reader's close attention is in the 1st grade column. "Annual loss" is the blanket term for students who have either moved out-of-state or who have otherwise not, upon completion of their first year of school, enrolled in the subsequent second grade anywhere in the state. Where did they go?

While there are no statistics as to what percentage did move out-of-state, from the enormous figure given here, particularly in that first grade column, it seems clear that a lot of first graders were not "making the grade" from 1939-1951. Extracting just the numbers from that 1st grade block for the year 1939-40, one learns that 20,415 children out of 63,315 enrolled in first grade did not proceed to the second grade in

the following year, representing 32%--virtually one third--who were not promoted or who moved out of the state altogether (Special statistical..., 1953:48).

Part of the West Virginia Department of Education's concentrated counteroffensive against the school drop-out problem is found in their method of determining the parameters of the problem. Beginning in 1968 the West Virginia Department of Education has compiled annual reports on school drop-outs, drawing its information from school records and personal interviews with the students dropping out on a statewide basis. In 1972 they began to enter all this information and related data into a computer, with more material added each year. By 8 August 1983, the date of the most recent report, a sophisticated profile of the school drop-out began to emerge.

Of the 5,930 students who dropped out of school state-wide in the school year 1982-83, 34.33% quietly severed all ties and were unavailable for an exit interview. Following are some sample extractions from this report, based on percentage of the 100 percent dropped out:

30.47% were retained for one year in their school career,
 41.90% had irregular [but not truant] school attendance,
 62% had no discipline record whatsoever...or 'minor rule infraction',
 91.29% never or very seldom participated in 'extra-curricular activities',
 only 20.99% of the parents encouraged the students to remain,
 out of 23 possible reasons given for dropping out, 'dislike of
 school experiences' received 17.43% of the vote, and 'lack of
 interest' 28.93%,
 only 8.94% went on to either work (full-time or part-time) or join
 the armed services,
 only 17.21% were in the top half of their reading groups (Dropout report summary, 1983).

The County Level

All of the counties in West Virginia have prepared county-level school drop-out reports, for it is from these that the state-wide report is put together. Boone County has taken a further step of compiling a County Dropout Research Project. The research and compilation of this Project are the contribution of Ronnie Williams, the Director of Attendance in Boone, working under the direction of the County Board of Education.

To the extent that one county can typify or represent an entire region, Boone County is typical. It is rural in nature and mountainous; it has a low-density population; and the single largest class of employment is in the coal mines. The largest town is Madison, the county seat, with a population of 2,342 (Williams, 1983:3).

In order to allow the reader opportunity to recognize the distinction between urban schools and rural schools as reflected in the School Dropout Reports, it should be here noted that during the last decade the state-wide drop-out rate decreased from 24.96% to 21.96%, while the drop-out rate in Boone County has decreased from 33.03% to 31.52% in the same period of time (Williams, 1983:6). There are three high schools in Boone County, and this simple table below shows a disproportionate number of drop-outs for the more rural schools versus the more urban schools:

SCHOOL	% OF TOTAL HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT	% OF TOTAL HIGH SCHOOL DROP-OUTS
Scott High School	45.63%	39.95%
Van High School	18.65%	12.54%
Sherman High School	35.71%	47.49%

(Williams, 1983:3-5).

Scott High School is located in Madison; Van High is in the tiny town of Van, now only twenty minutes drive from Madison; Sherman High is in Whitesville, a town nearly as large as Madison but over an hour's drive away, situated in a deep pocket in the mountains (Williams, 1983:3). Some of the most remote areas in the County feed into Sherman High School.

Summation

It must be kept in mind that, on the county level, these statistics are dealing with small numbers in these rural areas. So that three or four children changing from one side of the fence to another could alter the figures in what might appear to be a significant way.

What is significant is that these mountain children keep dropping out in alarming numbers. Inadequately educated teachers?--teacher requirements have been standardized. Low per pupil expenditures?--it has been increased dramatically in recent years so that, while not equalling the national average, it is a respectable amount. In school year 1980-81, for example, the national per pupil expenditure was \$2,473 in comparison to the \$2,173 that West Virginia spent per pupil (Pub. ele. & sec. ed. in the U.S., 1983:153). Concerned educators are fishing in the dark for the causes of pupil retention, poor reading scores and the pupil's apparently intense desire to have as little to do with the school as possible. While these problems are region-wide, they are deeply personal problems for thousands of individuals. And it is on a person basis, in individual interviews, that some of the possible causes are outlined with startling clarity.

PART II

RELATING CURRENT VIEWS OF THE PROBLEM

CHAPTER 5

INTERVIEWS WITH EDUCATORS

Objectives

It was the desire of this investigator to attempt to discover the extent to which these mountain children are using their mother tongue of Appalachian English at the point at which they begin their school careers. While realizing that the most authentic data could only be obtained from the children themselves, the investigator had to concede that this was not a viable option. In order to preserve the confidentiality pledged to the parents and in keeping with federal statutes on the issue, the school system in West Virginia does not give outsiders direct access to the children. The term "outsiders" means anyone who is not expressly under the authority of the school system, either as a regular employee or as a short-term, contracted consultant.

Therefore, this author as investigator constructed a language survey form to be completed by Kindergarten and First Grade teachers as to the presence and intensity of presence of AE among their pupils. The form, however, did not in fact survey what it was designed to survey. After a short personal section containing respondent's name, age, educational background, years of teaching experience and location of teaching experiences, the form dealt with linguistic items on a frequency chart outline. It was the investigator's notion that, by presenting the teacher with a catalogue of the characteristics of Appalachian speech

with an accompanying description of each element and its occurrences, there might emerge a fairly consistent picture of the prevalence of AE. To this end, the linguistic section was divided into three portions, one dealing with phonological features, one with grammatical features, and one with lexical items. (A copy of this form may be found in the Appendix.) The teacher was then asked to estimate the frequency of occurrence of an individual element (once the investigator was convinced that the teacher understood that element) with regard to the pupils in his or her most recent school year.

After having met all these educators for the first time at their school buildings and, sometimes, in the schoolrooms, the investigator had observed that AE was alive and well in nearly all of its representations among the children present on those days and at all of those schools. Thus, it was quite a shock when a teacher said something like this in the second, longer interview: "Oh, my children don't talk like that [unstressed -ing--the most frequent Appalachianism]. We teach them not to, and so they just don't do it" (Resp. #2). When this remark was followed by similar ones during subsequent interviews, the investigator had to reluctantly conclude that what was actually being tested was not the children's use of AE, but the teacher's perceptions of the children's use of the language. In short, this product was not part of the yield for which the investigator had been surveying.

The investigator believes that, as a naive child enters school, before his or her attitudes and language use have been overlaid by the molding influence of education, the child is a true reflection of current culture and language use in the home. The first professional to spend

large blocks of time with this naive representative is the Kindergarten and/or First Grade teacher. It has long been a maxim in American society that few other individuals besides parents wield the degree of influence that a primary teacher has with children. This high potential for the positive or the negative is precisely the reason why the standards for elementary school teachers are so high. For the same reason, it is essential that an elementary school teacher view the field of teaching as a vocation rather than just a job. In other words, part of what an elementary school teacher does is to shape young lives.

The teachers who were interviewed fit the description of the preceding paragraph: they were extremely well-educated, and they displayed a depth of commitment and caring that was heartwarming. But, almost to a person they were unaware that a separate linguistic variety and a separate culture were in operation within their classrooms. The end result was a teacher attitude and a response to the children that contained a large degree of ambivalence. For example, Respondent 12 said, "He'd been in my class [First Grade] almost a year and he could hardly read... but I know he's smart...I just know it! The things he tells me show such intelligence!" Teachers found themselves trapped in a paradox: The child's faculties are normal and his behavior reflects normal intelligence, but he does not learn to read well. Furthermore, he fails to respond to the values concerning education that the teacher holds. So, the bottom line is this plaint from Respondent 18: "Is there something more that I should be doing to help that child?"

At this point the author/investigator wishes to emphasize that the purpose of this section is not to criticize the teachers. Teachers in

America do seem to be under attack in this decade as never before. Elementary education teachers enter the field with a wealth of training (many of the respondents had at least an M.A. degree in education) and a heart for their pupils, yet too many find themselves victims of teacher burn-out and seek employment in another field within just a few years. Nearly all of those sixty-five teachers interviewed were young people. Where are the older, more experienced teachers? Were they driven from their profession by a cumulative sense of frustration and a feeling of being devalued? To be a teacher in America today is no longer a proud profession to many of its members. Instead of criticism, the author would prefer to see the teachers of today given complete access to the ever-growing body of knowledge pertaining to their students with leeway to apply what they have learned from it.

County descriptions: With permission of the State Board of Education and the local County Superintendents, the author had contact with sixty-five Kindergarten and First Grade teachers in two separate counties, plus six other educators. Of those original sixty-five teachers, thirty-five met with the author/investigator for another interview, during which time the survey form was completed by each teacher. In order to protect the identities of the teachers, they will be referred to by number. Neither will the counties involved be identified directly, but will instead be called simply County A and County B.

County A is distinctly rural in nature, but is situated close to two large urban areas. There are two medium-sized plants and a couple of craft businesses in operation within the county boundaries. Basically there are two populations: the long-term residents and the nouveau venu.

The newcomers are people who work in the large urban areas and, because of the convenience of improved highways, are able to commute to work each day in the city from their homes in the country. Some of the newcomers to the county are West Virginians by birth, but a number of them came in to the state from outside. Therefore, some of the schools in this county draw most of their younger children from the new housing developments that have sprung up close by, and from the young, middle-class families that inhabit those housing developments. Other, more isolated schools still have an intensity of AE-speaking children. This county has observed a detectable improvement in its school drop-out rate within the last few years.

County B is even more rural than County A, with a smaller population spread more thinly throughout the county. County B is more mountainous, and some of its schools are much harder to reach than those of County A. County B has a higher rate of unemployment, even though it has several mines--all or none of which may be operating at any given moment. It is the author's opinion that the population in County B is much more stable in that it has undergone fewer changes in recent years.

Last, the author wishes to point out that the Respondents have been assigned their numbers arbitrarily, and it cannot be assumed that two teachers with consecutive numbers necessarily teach in the same school or even in the same county. The teachers from County A live in five different counties, and the teachers from County B live in five separate counties. The investigator chose, therefore, to conduct interviews by geographic distribution, as this was easier for the investigator.

Difficulties Encountered in Teaching the Mountain Child

Culturally irrelevant material: One complaint that a number of teachers made concerned cultural irrelevancy of their teaching material. Writing in 1982, educator Dr. Ernest W. Lee, International Literacy Consultant for the Summer Institute of Linguistics, put it this way: [The one learning to read] "should expect that what he is reading is going to make sense in relation to what he already knows about the world. This means that for the person who is learning to read, the content should always be within the realm of his experience and/or of his knowledge" (20). This concept is phrased just as pithily by Respondent 16: "How can the same story be really meaningful to a little Bronx boy and a little mountain boy? One of them is losing out." This same concern was voiced by Respondent 21 who had been involved with curriculum development at one time. She felt that what was needed was some teaching material prepared exclusively for the mountain child.

Some individuals tout the educational value of television. Respondent 2 volunteered the thought that television is not as useful a teaching tool as might be believed. She felt that, up until the time the child enters school, his world is going to be largely imaginative anyway. His television repertoire will consist largely of material like the Saturday morning cartoons. Any books that happen to come his way are likely to be mythical in nature. Therefore, when something foreign to his mountain frame of reference--such as a submarine, for example--is introduced, the child naturally collates it along with the other inhabitants of his fantasy world.

In order to fully realize the truth and the impact of this concept,

it must be kept in mind that the mountain child has, on the average, experienced very little outside his own culture. Teacher after teacher related how, on field trips, those children in their classes who came from up the creeks and out of the hollows were struck dumb--and sometimes fearful--by what they encountered. The investigator heard many tales of children who had never before seen a MacDonald's or a movie, or even an elevator (Resp. #27).

Imagine the difficulties confronting such a child who is trying to learn to read: he must deal with a language code which, while not totally unfamiliar, is not the one he uses; and he "reads" about things which may have little or no relevancy to him. Reading specialists speak of the need to handle various skills ranging from decoding to comprehension. At various times the individual learning to read depends on decoding skills and at other times on comprehension. The mountain child has, indeed, "lost out" in both decoding and comprehension areas as far as prereading preparation goes.

Cultural deprivation? The author/investigator is neither a sociologist nor a psycholinguist and cannot, therefore, speak with authority on this point of cultural deprivation as applied to the Appalachian child. But a number of teachers did refer to the mountain child as being culturally deprived. Educator Basil Bernstein opened this topic up as an issue in a classic article written in 1970. There he proposed a theory of linguistic deprivation as stemming from cultural deprivation. The author/investigator was employed as a social worker and counselor with poverty-level peoples during the years immediately preceding and following the publication of Bernstein's article and can recall with clarity

the furor created in social science circles by Bernstein's article. His name became as well-known in some offices as the names of the most popular household products.

The difficulty that this author has with Bernstein's theory when applied to Appalchian children is the frame of reference. Is it accurate to apply the standards of one culture to the people of another culture? The fact is that most mountain children partake fully of their own culture, and the question of deprivation need never arise were they not required to leave their culture and function in another. It would, however, be valid to say that, since the mountain person comes into the surrounding culture for his education and his employment when adult, he must expect to have to conform to its standards and submit to its judgments in certain areas.

Lack of outside experience: Hand-in-hand with the concept of cultural deprivation is the one already described of sheer lack of experience in the outside world. While it is obvious that this factor is going to be more true of some children than of others, still it introduces a total attitudinal perspective that is virtually always present in the mountain child's parents. It is middle-class parents in standard American society who believe in "cultural enrichment" and implement such a belief on behalf of their children, taking them to theaters, museums, libraries and fairs. It is those same middle-class parents who bring home educational toys, play board games with their children, and tune in "Mr. Roger's Neighborhood" and "Sesame Street" for them every day.

A mountain parent might be just as thoroughly entertained by "Sesame Street" as his child would be, but deliberately stimulating his

child's curiosity and exposing his child to cultural enrichment activities is not part of his value system. High intelligence, according to American norms, is not a cultural value in Appalachia, nor is higher education. The mountaineer usually has a tremendous respect for education and an admiration for educated people--for example, his child's teacher--but formal education as such is of no practical value at all in the mountains. "Book-larnin'" doesn't pick coal, milk cows or raise turnips. In fact, book-larnin' separates a man out from his kith and kin. Mike Clark, a native of Appalachia and a graduate of Berea College in Kentucky, stated the mountain man's viewpoint on education thirteen years ago when he said: "The more formal education we get, the more we tend to be isolated from the old ways and from our own people" (1971: 200). Further on in his address, he makes a sad comment on his view of the achievements of Berea College, the first work-study college available for the education of mountain youth:

Education in our society means control, not freedom. It means a way of transferring values from one group to another so that the first group can keep the second under control.

How does Berea help in all of this? I think it's fairly evident. By training the people who have functioned best in mountain schools, Berea helps to insure a steady supply of people who will take over the reins of power when the existing local leadership dies. By teaching students a new set of values, values based on the dominant middle-class American society, this college insures that people can be co-opted and bought off like most other people in this society who are formally educated and middle class (1971:206).

This thesis is not going so far as to contend that this quotation represents the viewpoint of the rank and file in Appalachia. It may only be a minority view, and a limited minority at that. A less complex statement on one of the purposes of education is made by Wolfram and Folsom expressing a viewpoint which is heard in the mountains: "Public edu-

cation in our society serves the function of inculcating in children the values that are shared by the society in which they will be participating members" (1974:177). Keeping in mind the strong importance of kinship ties to the mountain family, teachers must acknowledge that a parent with these standards would have to be more than human to not resent what he interprets as someone's attempt to entice his child away from his home obligations.

One teacher related an unhappy series of events that culminated in hurt feelings for all involved. The outline of this episode is here presented because the author believes it to be a classic example of the ways in which a lack of outside experience can lead to misunderstanding and can close doors for both child and parents.

A First Grade teacher had in her classroom one particular little mountain boy whose cheerfulness and sharp wit were especially appealing. Convinced of his intelligence, the teacher was astonished to learn of his very low scores on the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (henceforth known as the CTBS). She diagnosed the root problem as a reading problem, and, after ascertaining that he did not appear to have a learning disability of any kind, she talked with the child's mother about her diagnosis and her solution. The teacher wanted the child to begin going regularly to the library in a nearby community. After describing at length all the very attractive features of the library, she was met by a curt refusal and a suggestion that she leave the child alone on this matter (Resp. #12).

This young teacher's father works in the professional world, and he and her mother had spent a great deal of time and energy providing

cultural enrichment opportunities for the young woman and her siblings. She had grown up in a large urban area with access to all of its cultural activities, and she felt broadened in both her understanding and experience because of this exposure. Having a very warm and loving personality, she wanted to share with her school children some of the activities that had contributed so much to her own growth, and one of these was the library. On the other hand, it is likely that the mountain mother who had never entered a library was highly suspicious of this pretty young teacher who painted such a bright, seductive portrait of something unknown.

Lack of parental cooperation: Other instances of apparent lack of cooperation on the part of parents were cited:

Invest.: You say some of the parents are uncooperative. In what way?

R. #10: For example, I had this one child who was not doing well. I sent a note home. No answer. Later on, I sent another note home asking the parent to come and see me. Still no answer. The mother came to the parent-teacher conference, though, so I told her all about it. She acted really concerned. I thought she meant it. She said, 'what can I do to help?' I told her, 'listen, all you have to do is read to her fifteen minutes a day, each day. That's all you have to do. I guarantee that will help a lot.' She said she'd do it, but she never did. I could tell. Now, why would she lie to me like that?

Invest.: Maybe the mother couldn't read.

R. #10: Oh!

Many teachers appeared perplexed and distressed by the lack of response on the part of the parents. Respondent 2 told how she would send an occasional note home with a child who was not doing well, and the child's poor grades at each report card-time would continue to reflect

his poor work, but she would hear nothing from the parents until the end of the year when she ended up having to retain the child. Then the parents would be upset, for they could not understand why the child had been retained. The teacher sensed that they were somehow blaming her, although she had sent them signals all year long.

Respondent 7 said: "They came to us not knowing their alphabets or color words or numbers. Their parents just don't work with them." Respondent 8 complained that the parents "don't help with the homework." Respondent 10 said: "It all boils down to [lack of] reinforcement at home!" Respondent 16 said: "Some parents could care less." Respondent 22 said: "Education is not pushed at home." Respondent 28 reported that parents had refused her offer to tutor their child. Respondent 34 said simply: "Several of the parents of the kids I retained couldn't read."

After perusing the previous paragraph, some readers might be forcefully reminded of reports from Native American schools. The teachers who worked with those Indian children and wrote about the experience said some of the same things, even though they were well aware of another culture in operation. But then a primary, stated purpose of the Indian schools was acculturation to the ways of the white man (Littlebear, 1983:4). This echo from another set of teachers working with another set of children from a different culture was re-articulated by Respondent 13 who said: "They have low self-value--there is an eye-to-eye contact problem." But, writing of Appalachian cultural behavior, Norman Simpkins says: "We have been taught that if you looked people in the eye that's staring and staring is impolite" (1974:42).

Some of the teachers, usually those who had first taught out-of-

state and then recently come to West Virginia, recognized more evidences of cultural difference. Respondent 33 said: "They don't like to do things as individuals; they don't like to be singled out. They're clan-nish; they're kin." Respondent 24 felt that she got along quite well with the students and their parents. Coming from another state as she had, she felt that there was much about the people and the area to learn, and her students exhibited great eagerness to instruct her. Respondent 22 remarked briefly that there was a difference between standard American culture and the mountain culture. Respondent 27 said about Appalachian speech: "Well, after all, it's not that there's anything wrong with it."

Responses of the Educators

In the classroom: Most of the teachers who were West Virginia natives, especially those who had themselves grown up in rural areas, seemed to resist the idea that there was a separate culture and a separate language in operation requiring consideration and treatment out of the ordinary. Some of these people seemed to have distanced themselves a step further away from their cultural background. There were others, however, who unabashedly proclaimed themselves natives and proud of it.

Within this latter group, in interview, there appeared three patterns of behavior that were distinct from what other teachers reported themselves to be doing. First, none of the teachers in this category noted any outstanding difficulty in working with the parents. Respondent 31 said: "I had good cooperation from the parents this year. But I always have good cooperation from the parents." Respondent 1 talked

about the fact that many of the parents of her pupils were her neighbors in the hollow where she lived. From her point of view, she and her neighbors were all the same kind of people, but she had been fortunate enough to get an education. Respondent 21 talked at length about the material written on the mountain people, finding much of it risible. Unerringly, she pointed out discrepancies in various books wherein the author had interpreted certain behaviorisms on the part of the mountaineer in terms of the author's culture. Naming one author, she said: "[He] is not a native. He doesn't understand us." Respondent 18 described her school year: "Eager, ambitious kids, helpful parents." She went on to talk about the things she did outside her school time with the children, the home visits she had made, the understanding she had developed in seeing the child as a part of the whole, as a result of his background.

This last sentence introduces the second point of difference: these teachers treat the mountain children differently, in school and out of it. Respondent 21 said that since the cultural values of the parents did not reinforce what the teachers were doing, the teacher was going to have to bridge the gap, or the child would not receive that needed remedial attention anywhere. "We have moved into a society where you can function very well without reading"; she said. She has also developed some passive versus active learning activities for the children, believing as she does that a certain amount of passive learning must precede the ability to respond well to active learning situations. She described some of the educational toys that met her pupil's needs. Respondent 29 has not found it necessary in her small, rural school to retain many students due to poor performance. She also got along well with the parents, feeling

that she had established with them a common ground from which to operate. She talked about the need exhibited by her mountain children for tactile experience, above and beyond that of the children from the standard American culture. In dealing with these apparently shy mountain children, she says that she does most of the talking in the classroom, and this works better than putting them on the spot as individual classroom performers.

The last point of difference has already been mentioned, interwoven with what the teachers are doing differently in the classrooms. Most of the teachers surveyed remarked about their sense of frustration in trying to reach the mountain child. Several teachers related, as did Respondent 12, attempts to reach out, to help, that had only created misunderstanding on all sides. Some of the teachers, however, are working from their own backgrounds in the mountains and with the insider's understanding of how the culture operates. These teachers envision: a difference in curriculum to tailor it to their mountain children's cultural grid (Resp. #21); the need to meet the parents where they are and provide what is wanted to up-grade poor reading skills (Resp. #29); the design of a whole set of educational toys which are specifically geared for the child who lacks hands-on experience (Resp. #21); and changes in the administration of the CTBS (Resp. #15). Some of the teachers would like to see the test completely revamped so that it does not slant its material toward children from the standard American culture. She expressed the notion that she would like to analyze the types of errors that her students made in order both to better equip her students and to make the test less prejudicial. Other teachers want the test administered at a

later date so as to give them more time to prepare all their children for it. Some of the teachers bitterly resent what they consider an inaccurate representation of their children's abilities as reflected in these test scores (Resp. #24)

Another idea bruited about by several teachers was central to the thinking of Respondent 19. Although mountain-born, she comes from an immigrant family that placed a high value on education and its corollaries. As her Master's thesis project she designed a program to improve children's reading skills, requiring only fifteen minutes daily application for a semester.

In the end, the discussion has arrived circumlocutionally at its take-off point: reading. No matter how one explains possible causation--culture difference, linguistic variance, parental resistance, lack of hands-on experience, unfair testing, teacher misunderstanding--it is all expressed in one troublesome result: reading problems. These children do not read well. Their parents didn't read well, either. Today, many of their parents scarcely read at all.

In the School Office

In an interview with the author of the Boone County Drop-Out Research Project, Attendance Officer Ronnie Williams, the investigator's attention was directed to student responses on the relationship of reading to dropping out of school. In preparing his research project, Mr. Williams asked the students interviewed to complete a questionnaire:

The final question on the dropout questionnaire was, 'why did you leave school?' The answers were quite varied and very diverse. The one response that occurred very frequently was (paraphrased) 'Why should I stay in school when I cannot read well enough to keep up with

the other students? The longer I went to school the farther behind I became.'

Some of the other reasons for leaving are: (paraphrased)

- B. 'I have problems comprehending what I read.'
- C. 'I would have made it if I could have read in the third grade.'
- D. 'I was okay in math but I had big problems in reading. The problem became worse after the fifth grade.'
- F. 'I tried to start back three times but they would not let me in. I have had severe reading problems as long as I can remember.'
- I. 'I was so far behind I could not catch up. There was work I had never seen before and I was lost.'
- J. 'I like my G.E.D. classes because I work at my own rate. I only need to pass my reading section for my G.E.D.' (1983:12). [selected responses out of the thirteen given, 46% dealt with problems in reading.]

The last quotation made from a school drop-out to Mr. Williams is longer and more poignant:

'I can not read very well. When I was in school no one seemed to care about my problems. The teachers were very courteous during class. During oral reading lessons they would skip over you, providing you had been a good student that day.

I just could not stand sitting there knowing I would never read.' The student then said, 'Mr. Williams, one thing I could never understand while I was in school was why teachers ask students, "Why do you destroy your books?" Anyone should understand that books are destroyed by persons who can not read them. Tell me, why should anyone take care of something they could never use?' (1983:13).

That departing student had posed an excellent question. To carry that question to its logical extension is to ask: "Why, indeed, should anyone take care of something that is, by its very presence, a mockery and a reproach?" Ronnie Williams describes the boy as articulate, polite, soft-spoken (1983:13). And, without having to analyze deeply, one might deduce that this boy displays a serious and questioning turn of mind. If the reader were not already aware of the young man's status, he

would probably accept this description as that of a young man headed for college, someone on his way up. What happened? What should have happened?

There's a cliché in American society today to the effect that "practice makes perfect." "No", says Dr. Ruth Justine Kurth frequently to her classes at North Texas State Teachers College where she holds the Chair of the Department of Reading. "It's not that practice makes perfect, it's that practice makes permanent!" Out of kindness, teachers had robbed the young man of the previous paragraph of many of his opportunities to make of his reading a permanent skill.

For the thousands upon thousands of children in Appalachia who, this past September, commenced their school careers, who will be taught to read in a language they do not speak, who will maintain a bare minimum of reading skill from school year to school year only because of the reinforcement that being in school gives, may something be done soon.

CHAPTER 6

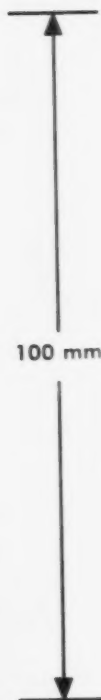
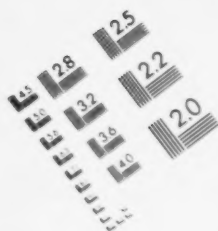
CONCLUSIONS DRAWN

The conclusions drawn in this section are related to the problem of school drop-out rate in Appalachia and what has thus far been learned about it and its correlates. The causes, the complicating factors, the synergism involved, the dynamics, and possible points of attack must all be weighed as to their individual influence with regard to the subject of school drop-outs.

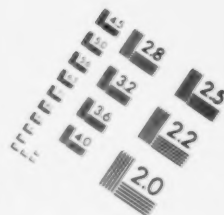
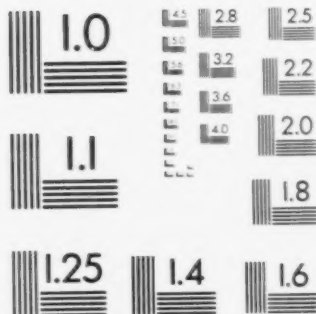
The first part of the thesis has developed in detail an explanation as to why linguistic variance and cultural divergence are factors which contribute to the drop-out problem, as well as a discussion of the inter-relationship between these two factors. This author feels it has been shown that linguistic variance alone would not have nearly so serious an impact on the mountain child's school performance without the synergizing pressure created by the mountain culture. Actually, that seems to be the way this entire section reads—linguistic variety times cultural influence equals a much more difficult and complex issue to resolve than would be found if either factor were the only one present.

Language and Culture Input

For example, language difference multiplied by a strong traditionalist cultural view plus geographic isolation equals retention of forms that have become archaic and to which people persistently cling because it is not in their nature or make-up to welcome change in any area of



100 mm

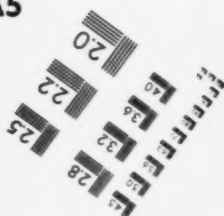


Resolution Test Chart
100 mm

ABCDEFGHIJKLMN O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

ABCDEFGHIJKLMN O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

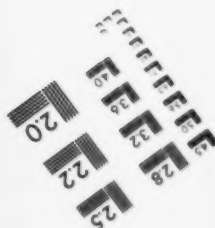
A5



1.0 mm

1.5 mm

2.0 mm



their lives. Therefore, an initial slowness in learning to read may be made even slower by the children's inexperience of the larger culture, which inexperience has denied them access to the specific cultural framework in which to comprehend the reading material given them--material prepared for children of another culture.

A desire on the part of the teachers to provide remedial aid is choked off by a series of cultural misinterpretations. Individual teachers reaching out in individual ways apparently evoke suspicion on the part of mountain parents whose value system does not place emphasis on cultural enrichment and does not desire promotion of non-mountain culture.

A culture that recognizes little practical purpose in formal education is not going to urge its members to become educated; neither is it going to support and encourage those of its members who are struggling with the educational system. A mountain man is not going to exhort a child who is failing in his education to go back and make a success of it--such advice would be alien to the mountain man, given his opinion of formal education. Rather, out of concern for the well-being of his child, the father might go so far as to try to reduce the blow which the child received by denigrating the system which tripped him.

Finally, parents who can't read can't help children who can't read. Respondent 21 was quoted earlier as saying: "We have moved into a society where you can function very well without reading."⁸ Mountain people have always been able to function relatively well without reading, at least until the era of statutes and regulations and boundary maps came to fruition. Respondent 21 also said: "You don't like to do what you don't do well--it all ties in with reading." Yes, it does. And until mountain

people feel a genuine, inner motivation or develop a cultural value for obtaining reading skills, all the caring, culturally sensitized teachers in the world with all the culturally relevant, psycholinguistically designed reading programs in the world are going to be fighting an uphill battle in Appalachia.

School Input

The school system has, in certain ways, complicated the problem and deepened the chasm which the mountain child must cross in order to achieve literacy as an ongoing competence. Most of the ways in which the school system has done this lie within the broad area of standardization and, on the flip side, constitute developments in the overall education process in the United States.

For example, West Virginia is proud to have eliminated the little, one-room schools. Those shabby, old-fashioned buildings, hot in the summer and cold in the winter, with their scant library offerings and outdated toilet facilities, are gone forever in the Mountain State. There are some far-seeing administrators who are justly pleased to have seen their careful, long-range plans fulfilled and bright, modern consolidated school buildings dotting the countryside instead of tacky old buildings up almost every creek and hollow.

Louise B. Gerrard, a Ph.D. in Sociology and a long-term resident of West Virginia, in a paper written the same year the last one-roomer was closed stated: "Ironically, closing these tiny schools frequently resulted in narrowing, not broadening the opportunities available to the folk of the Hollow, at precisely the time they were losing their jobs and

their self-confidence" (1966:7). This reaction is not mere nostalgia speaking. To all who knew her (and she was much in the public eye) Louise Gerrard was first a hard-headed and eminently practical sociologist. Her analysis of the situation brings home the sad necessity of having teams of experts involved in all kinds of decision-making on all levels.

Educators, unable to provide all that they wanted to give the students at each individual small school, conceived and executed the brilliant design of consolidation. With consolidated schools, the thinking has been, children get a wider ethnic and cultural exposure within their own classrooms.

If there are a couple of children at this little school and a couple at that little school who need special education, why, bring them all together into a room especially designed for them with a teacher who is especially trained to help them. If there is an unusually bright child in this school and two in that school, bring them all together where they can stimulate each other and receive supplementary education. Maybe consolidation does work well on the national level; maybe it doesn't always work as well as educators projected that it would; but it does not work well for the mountain child.

From the inception of public education for the mountain child, the schoolhouse had been the center of activity for the entire community. In the early years, the church services were often held there, the community meetings, the fellowship times. Spelling bees and holiday programs drew old and young alike, parents and singles (Gainer, 1980:137). Mountain women were comfortable coming into the old school where they had gotten their own education, just a short walk, perhaps, from their own front

door. And, if the teacher wanted to speak to the parents, she didn't usually have far to look in order to hold her conversation. Teachers today complain that mountain parents don't often come to their children's schools to observe, to confer, to volunteer. They used to come.

Dr Gerrard brings up another point related to the first:

Consolidated schools often meant domination by town children with more manners and charm. Hollow youngsters were thrust upon teachers they did not know, middle-class teachers, or at least with middle-class ways and aspirations, who resented their assignments, preferring the neat predictable town children (1966:9).

In order to transport these mountain children out to the consolidated schools, it is necessary for many of them to ride the bus every day, leaving before daybreak in the morning and returning after dark in the evening during the winter months. They are carried away from their own comfortable, safe environment every weekday, from their own culture to another. Is it any wonder, then, that twenty-nine out of thirty-five teachers reported that their mountain pupils said to them day after day: "When I'm sixteen I'm going to drop out of school." These children are really saying, "I don't want to be here." Interestingly enough, they don't stop saying it, even after the period of adjustment is over and they have become reconciled to school. Through the years, they keep saying it, until they finally do it.

With the transfer of the school from the hollow to the more populated areas, another transfer was also made. Generation by generation, the teacher had been moving farther away, both physically and in spirit, from the hollow. At first the teacher had been "one of them" with, perhaps, a summer course under her hat. Then as standardization began to creep across the land in the wake of federal requirements, teachers began

rushing feverishly down to the cities on weekends and/or successive summers in their attempt to meet certification deadlines. But the teacher usually still lived in the hollow and taught there. With the consolidation of schools, those teachers who had lived far out in the country often moved into town in order to avoid rough road and bad weather combinations.

During the fifties and sixties in West Virginia, a certain number of the teachers did not even reside in their county of employment, thus thoroughly distancing themselves from their "constituency." Those were the years when low-paying employment, contracted year by year, was available for almost anyone with a college degree in any subject, never mind the training in education. School boards, recognizing the importance of a college degree but still unable to standardize and require teaching degrees from all teachers, accepted this compromise. The turnover was significant as, each year, a number of college graduates--most of them with no full-time work experience at all--car-pooled out to the school, put in their class time, and left. These people infrequently participated in any extra-curricular events because they lived a distance away. For many of them, the school and the students were no more a part of their lives than just a job.

First the teacher had been both friend and neighbor. Then he was friend, but no longer neighbor. After the transition period described above, he was often neither friend nor neighbor. This last step took place when standardization state-wide occurred, salaries moved out of the poverty fringe, and teachers were required to have college degrees with teaching specialties regularly updated. Teaching had again been ac-

knowledge as a profession, requiring the services of professionals. Long gone was the easy meeting of minds between the teacher and the mountain parent. The teacher had become one more expert in an age of experts. Louise Gerrard points out that, as both the teacher and the school moved out of the little rural communities, something vital was lost: communication between teacher and mountain parent (1966:9).

Along with the standardization of teacher requirements, but taking place a number of years earlier, was the standardization of curriculum materials. Much has already been said in this thesis about the necessity of culturally relevant materials in order to provide familiar, predictable primer material for beginning readers. Suffice it only to answer the unspoken question that may be in the minds of some readers at this point: "Okay, so the material is standardized from the Bronx to the Appalachians. The teacher can still use it the way she wants and supplement it so that it's more meaningful. Can't she?" No, she or he cannot. True, there is some degree of leeway, and a creative, experienced teacher might find a way to circumvent some of the least suitable material in an acceptable fashion. But Respondent 31 went into some detail about the requirements handed down to teachers with regard to how very closely reading and math curricula must follow designated lines. Thus, it can be seen that standardization--which was intended to elevate the quality of education--has become a tyrant to some extent, and that slavish attention to its demands may serve to violate the very goal it was intended to meet.

The CTBS is just one more example of standardization carried to an extreme. The basic concept is praiseworthy: to obtain an informed insight into the strong and weak areas of each pupil's academic ability in

order to better instruct the pupils in the future. But the teachers seem to view the CTBS now as one more intelligence test of sorts. This author does not have any information as to how extensively its results are used throughout a child's entire school career, nor how much weight it carries in educator decisions involving the individual child. Those issues are not really the point under contention.

The point that is being made here is the CTBS doesn't work well in Appalachia. It's supposed to test how much the child has learned in his first few months of exposure to certain, tested subjects, English grammar, for instance, and mathematics, reading comprehension, etc. But it doesn't test what it's supposed to test—at least not with the mountain child. One might as well give it to a Navaho child or a Chicano after six months in the First Grade.⁹ It is just as invalid as an accurate representation of the capabilities of the mountain child as it would be for the other two children. After all, all three have grown to school age in the United States, all have probably listened to television and have gone out into the larger world on occasion with family members, and all spoke their own language at home. Why is it, then, still used as a test instrument on First Graders in Appalachia? (In the Appendix there is a copy of the ITPA standardized test with AE alternant grammatical forms.)

Only the solutions proposed by the teachers remain to be examined. They will not be treated in this section on conclusions because they are not an end but a possible beginning. They will be discussed instead as part of a package of suggest program ideas.

PART III

SUGGESTIONS FOR SOLUTIONS

CHAPTER 7

PROGRAMS FOR STUDENTS

First of all, the author would like to return for a moment to a guideline expressed earlier, namely, that any changes be made slowly and carefully and attached at each point to supporting values held by the culture of the mountain child. It is not the desire of this author to make that child other than he is, but simply to help him be most fully and freely himself, able to realize all the potential that is his to realize.

Furthermore, it must be said at this point that this section on suggested solutions is not the be-all and end-all of this thesis, making all the earlier material merely a vehicle for the author's opinions. The author, while a native of Appalachia, has not lived there for several years and, in a sense, is no longer able to speak with an insider's voice, at least not on issues for the future. It therefore behooves the author to present the material in this section solely as a series of suggestions from which it might be possible to modify or develop viable aspects as parts of a larger program. Moreover, the ideas in this section are not, for the most part, original with this author. Some of the ideas are basic tenets of the English as a Second Language Programs, others are just descriptions of presently extant programs, and still others (the majority) were put forth by the teachers themselves in the interviews. Certainly it is not to be thought that these suggestions, en

toto, compose one program. Some of them are mutually exclusive.

The English as a Second Language Concept

According to the Bilingual Education Act of 1967, public school systems in the United States are required by the federal government to provide (with the help of the federal government, naturally) education for a child in his own mother tongue according to certain, specific lines established in the Act. These specifications clarify the type of linguistic background that qualifies a child (or children) for this help, as well as defining the terms of compliance. With the testimony of a few distinguished linguists, the child in Appalachia might well qualify as a recipient of this federal aid. This author is not recommending a move in this direction for a number of reasons. One reason is the red tape and welter of stipulations that accompany requests for federal aid.

Another reason, and perhaps a more valid one in the eyes of someone who genuinely cares for the mountain child as a person, is that the Bilingual Education Act is not designed to foster a child's mother tongue usage. The purpose of the Act is to mainstream the child into English as quickly as is possible and cement him there (Fishman, 1981:517). To many individuals, their mother tongue represents their essence, what they are, what their culture is, in a way that no other single entity can. To a people who place such high value on tradition any attack on that tradition or attempt to erode it would quite possibly arouse overt hostility and deep psychological resistance.

Yet another reason for objecting to the implementation of the Bi-

lingual Education Act in Appalachia is that its action would come from the top down instead of from the bottom up. As Clark (1971) discusses at length in his article on colonialism in Appalachia today, the only kind of leadership that will really be effective in Appalachia is from the grassroots level. However, while not advocating the Bilingual Education Act as a totality, this author does recommend a long, hard look at some of the fine English as a Second Language Programs which have flourished as a result of this Act.

This thesis is not going into lengthy discussion of the details of ESL programs here, largely because such details are available to anyone with access to a library. However, for those readers who are not linguists, an elementary question may well have arisen by now: "So, you've convinced me that the mountain child can't perform well in beginning reading because there really are some linguistic differences and the context of the reading material doesn't make sense to him. But why ESL? Can't you just change the class material a little to make it more meaningful and try to be more tolerant of his linguistic differences?" A number of answers come to mind.

First, educator Charlotte Brooks differentiates between "culturally different" and "culturally deprived" in a way that has application to the question. "Culturally different" are all those who have a culture of their own that is different from standard American culture, while the culturally deprived child is one who does not have full access to his own culture (Brooks, 1964:25). As a teacher in an ESL program, Ms. Brooks is convinced that Standard English should be taught as a second language to those children who speak non-standard English as a result of

cultural difference and/or cultural deprivation. Thus, the first reason for teaching by the ESL method does not depend upon the extent of linguistic difference, but also upon cultural difference, and it is not necessary for a child to be formally classified as "culturally deprived" in order to benefit from ESL methods.

Another reason for giving serious consideration to an ESL program is to provide a solid base for the child's future education. Educator Aaron Cicourel writes:

Early school experience is probably the most important stage in a child's educational career,...a child who cannot read and write at a level commensurate with classroom instructional materials in the first grade is unlikely to receive remedial help in the higher grades that will overcome his lack of skills...These skills are tied to a knowledge or proficiency with standardized language understanding and use (1974:1).

One is reminded of the old cliché: "If you don't have time to do it the right way now, when will you have time to do it all over again?" The time to "do it the right way" for the mountain child is the first time, as it is for all children. Any child who does not have a sound foundation in reading and writing is not going to be able to learn anything else well either:

The child's ability to read and write becomes more and more of a necessity as he enters the second and third grades. The educational material employed presupposes reading and writing skills, while verbal instructions incorporate language constructions that presume knowledge gained from having read textual material (Cicourel, 1974: 2).

It is quite possible to take a child who speaks one linguistic variety and teach him beginning reading skills in another, but there are certain, accepted methods of doing this, and they do differ from the way that reading and writing are taught to a child in the language which he

speaks. Nadine Dutcher's book presents a balanced view of six school systems which have chosen either one approach or the other. In some of the case studies examined there, the school chose to use the child's mother tongue as the primary language of instruction, and in other school systems the choice has been to teach the child to read in the second language instead. One chief difference between the two modalities is that, when the second language is chosen as the language of instruction instead of the child's mother tongue, the child is not introduced immediately to reading. The child who is learning to read in his mother tongue, on the other hand, may begin reading immediately in it with comprehension. But the child who is learning to read in a second language has a transition step or period wherein he first becomes completely familiar with the use and composition of the second language before being taught to read in it. Even then, many studies seem to indicate that it is an unusual child with an unusually supportive and highly motivated family who can learn to read first in a second language and still maintain academic excellence (Dutcher, 1982:21).

Another educator reiterates the necessity of different teaching methods in cases of linguistic variance:

By the time the average, mentally normal child begins school he's already internalized most of the basic phonological and grammatical patterns of at least one linguistic system, including the use of a large number of lexical items. So that, if the language of primary instruction is the same as the one he's already begun to master, language teaching in the school will just reinforce and give the child finer distinctions for use as well as for reading and writing.

If, however, the language being taught at school is other than the one in which the child has already acquired preschool fluency then the teaching methods must of necessity be quite different and the major task would be to impose a command of precisely those kinds of basic linguistic patterns which were already known in the native teaching situation (Stewart, 1964:1-2).

Dr. Muriel Saville-Troike, linguist and educator discusses the synergism of culture times language as it is brought to bear on the issue of children who speak a non-mainstream variety in a mainstream school situation: "Material prepared in English or the first language of the student needs to take into account the regional and social dialect which he speaks--or still another 'foreign language' is added to his linguistic milieu, often without being recognized as such by educators" (Saville, 1971:402). The interweaving of these factors and the mutual influence they exert upon each other inside that child in the First Grade require, ideally, a teacher who knows how to handle the teaching of reading in this situation. Teachers in Appalachia are better educated than they ever were before, but they do not absorb such specialist information as is described above out of the atmosphere. The teachers themselves must be taught.

For the questioner of page 98, the matter of degree of language difference should, perhaps, be touched upon briefly. In the Introduction the author said this paper would not deliberate upon the subject of "what makes a language." There are many, many factors which are bound together in a very complex fashion surrounding that point at which one linguistic variety is declared to be an entirely separate language from its neighboring linguistic variety. Wars have been fought over that very point. There is a joke in linguistic circles on the topic: "A linguistic variety is a language when it has its own army and navy." Simply speaking, a language is not a language just because of mutual unintelligibility. Norwegian and Danish are largely mutually intelligible, but they are designated separate languages. Nor is the fact of a shared cog-

nate system sufficient to call two languages one. Wolfram and Christian have been quoted on the unique combination of linguistic items that composes Appalachian English, and a limited description of some of the more interesting items has been presented in this thesis' chapter on linguistics. A language is a totality, taken together with its linguistic features, its use and the culture it represents.

After perusing this body of work, the reader is going to have an opinion of the status of AE with regard to its linguistic classification. The point that's being made in this section is that, whatever opinion the reader holds on the status of AE, the child who speaks it still needs extra consideration in order to bridge the gap into Standard English. He needs this help not only because of his linguistic background, but also because of his cultural background. ESL educator William Stewart says the child needs the extra help because non-Standard backgrounds "have given rise to language learning problems of a type which are similar to foreign language learning problems, and hence render desirable the use of foreign language methods in English teaching" (1964:12).

Stewart goes on to elaborate: "There may be cases where the structural relationship between Standard English and varieties of speech which are, in fact, reminiscent of foreign language relationships" (1964:6). Thus, in order for the educator to be justified in considering ESL methods in teaching reading to Appalachian children, it is not necessary to prove that AE is a separate language according to linguistic standards. Indeed, because of this very issue of dialects versus separate languages, a legal decision has been handed down that blankets the entire subject. Duane Roen has written a thoughtful article on it for a book commissioned

by the National Council of Teachers of English. His first paragraph is a lengthy one, but it is here included in its entirety because it is so data-rich:

The highly publicized Ann Arbor Decision handed down by United States District Judge Charles W. Joiner on 12 July 1979 in Detroit did much to raise public and professional awareness of the linguistic challenges facing teachers. In that case the court ruled that teachers who speak standard dialects of English must learn to recognize and accept the nonstandard dialects of their students, who in this instance were black elementary students. The court noted in this landmark decision that teachers who are unfamiliar with the linguistic features...of their students' nonstandard dialects may intentionally or unintentionally induce in students insecurity about the language they and their families use at home. Such children may also feel that teachers and other speakers of standard dialects of English reject not only nonstandard dialects but also speakers of nonstandard dialects. As a result of this feeling of cultural rejection, the ability to learn to read, write, speak and understand standard English is impaired (1982:85) [underlining is mine].

Whatever the feelings invoked by this paragraph, two things stand out clearly. First, it's now the law of the land. Second, the underlined description at the end of the above quotation matches the description of the child speaker of AE developed throughout the pages of this thesis. If the Appalachian child has come to feel that the way he speaks--and by extension, the way his family speaks--is unacceptable, then he may be laboring under more of a burden than was realized by the teachers interviewed. The experts who were consulted in court before Judge Joiner came to this decision were noted scholars, sociolinguist William Labov among them (Roen, 1982:85). The author of this thesis feels that the situation in Appalachia must be evaluated for the possibility of this kind of miscuing taking place.

Curriculum Development Geared to the Mountain Child

Unfortunately, the information here presented for the readers' de-

liberation is much more limited in amount and scope than were some of the other suggestions. This limitation does not, in any way, imply a proposal of lesser importance. The author is not trained as an educator and was unaware of the extent (in both time and area covered) to which standardized textbooks are now in use in schools in Appalachia.

The teachers interviewed, however, are sadly aware of the drawbacks and limitations of the materials which they are required to use in their classrooms. According to their personalities and the length of time they've spent teaching in Appalachia, the teachers have reacted variously to their current curriculum material. Some complained about the curriculum, some have supplemented it, and some are ready to throw it out and start afresh. Some teachers spoke thoughtfully and some challengingly about such factors as tactile experience, hands-on experience, active versus passive learning tools, etc.

Because of a lack of elementary education background, the author sat silent as bits and pieces of program design for curriculum development flew thick and fast in some interviews. This is obviously not an area where the teachers need outside information or planning. They know what they want to do, and they are the ones who have been trained to recognize needs of this kind and how to cope with them. This author says, "Let them do it!"

In the evaluation of the teachers, most mountain children need certain supplementary activities in order that all children in the class may be on the same level of educational preparedness before commencing the learning of reading. These activities center around the stage of development designated earlier as "passive versus active learning." One of

the teachers interviewed talked briefly to the point that passive learning for the mountain child has not progressed much beyond his watching television (Resp. #21). This teacher has used a combination of passive learning type toys and tactile-experience toys in the classroom. She described, for example, tri-dimensional alphabet letters with bright colors and made from interesting materials such as wood.

While the teachers are being given carte blanche to introduce new curriculum concepts, the author would like to see them given permission to tackle the issue of culturally irrelevant teaching materials. The principles of textbook design would probably require more psycholinguistic expertise than the average teacher possesses, but these teachers are in an excellent position to suggest story topics of a culturally relevant nature to those who do design the texts. Moreover, these teachers are the very ones to begin the promotion of culturally relevant material containing dialogue that sounds the way people speak. Dr. Peter Trudgill, famous British sociolinguist wrote: "We have seen that native speakers have difficulty comprehending varieties that are phonetically, phonologically or grammatically different from their own if context is unhelpful or absent"(1983:29).

Why can't the mountain child have stories about him, his history, his people, his mountains? Why can't some of the children in the stories talk as he does? If there is any validity to Judge Joiner's contention that Standard English-speaking teachers sometimes cause the sensitive child to feel a loss of self-esteem because he thinks his language has been devalued, curriculum material with some vernacular dialogue should certainly prove a counterforce.

Reassessment of the CTBS Examination

Teachers believe in the importance of testing, it is a useful tool and one they would not be without. Teachers in West Virginia, however, have serious reservations about the CTBS and its validity with regard to their mountain students. Some of the teachers simply feel that the test is not an accurate representation of the mountain child's true ability; other teachers go so far as to say that the CTBS damages the confidence of the mountain child.

As this author understands the situation, the federal government through Title I has mandated standardized testing throughout First Grade classrooms in the United States. The state has the choice of actual test, but the California Achievement Test, the CTBS, the Iowa, etc, are all quite similar--which, of course, is the point of standardized tests. Thus, any changes that may be made in the composition or administration of the CTBS which is the test of choice in West Virginia would have to be made on a higher level. This is one point at which formal recognition of AE as a separate linguistic variety would provide ammunition for requests to alter the test or testing procedure.

The teachers in West Virginia are correct. It is necessary that something be done to change this process for future First Graders; such a change is overdue. In an article on language assessment in Appalachia Walt Wolfram presents a section on testing that is rife with cultural implications:

Potential sociolinguistic problems with a test may go considerably beyond differences in linguistic items...

In order to promote the orderly interpretation of data that are derived from the test situation, researchers have no other alternative but to presume that the subject can enter and remain in the ex-

perimental frame constructed for the test. In other words, they must assume that the subject can play their game...

The basic issue here, then, concerns the assumption of the "sameness" of the environment and the irrelevance of potentially different socialization processes which may lead to this test situation. From a sociolinguistic viewpoint, the question at this point is one of determining the extent to which potentially different historical backgrounds may be individualistic or cultural (1977:229).

In addition to sociolinguistic considerations, there are other issues in Appalachia which work against the continued administration of the CTBS in its present state. One such issue is that of interference phenomena, an occurrence ordinarily seen only when someone from one language background is learning another language.

Interference can occur when someone with one linguistic system begins to learn another. The second language is not being written on a blank slate but one that already has assigned values and pronunciations and usages for individual items. When an item similar to one already known is introduced, then the new language learner experiences a period of difficulty while attempting to reinforce the new form/value and temporarily ignore the old. Between Standard English and Appalachian English there are so very many possible points of interference as to render the learning of Standard English in this situation akin to walking in a mine field. Stewart says of this topic of interference:

Furthermore, the fact that the new language learner has already internalized the basic behavior patterns of another language--patterns which differ from those to be learnt--means that the language teacher should take special account of the ways in which the difference between the native and the new languages are liable to produce interference problems for the learner (1964:2).

Because of the interference problem, Stewart says "it is necessary to have a good linguistic analysis of the nonstandard variety" (1964:12). It is fortunate that this analysis is already available to help the

teachers help the children. There are still, however, other drawbacks to the CTBS. When one considers that the child taking the CTBS has been taught in the second language for only six months or so, and when one takes into account the psychological trauma of testing--even to the prepared--one realizes something of the stress which the exam must induce in the mountain child.

Supplementary Reading Project

This suggestion comes from one of the teachers interviewed who had done a Master's thesis project on supplementary reading. She had divided her First Grade classroom into the readers and the nonreaders at a certain point during the school year. Then she had asked the parents to read to their children for fifteen minutes a day, every day. Of course, some parents complied and some did not. At the end of the semester the teacher tabulated the results for all the children in the program, comparing those who had received the supplementary reading each day with those who had not. She reported a high degree of satisfaction with the results for those children who had received the extra help (Resp. #19).

Since some mountain parents do not read well, a program such as this would serve only to emphasize the inequality of one group of children with another, if it is left solely to the parents to implement the program. If such a project were begun with volunteers, however, a burden need not be laid on the parents. Perhaps older children in the school who do read well would be willing to help the younger children. Or perhaps older children who do not read well could be persuaded to help both the younger children and themselves by participating in such a plan.

Not being an educator, the author is not aware of what degree of frequency would be necessary to make a project like this into a success. It may be that fewer sessions, maybe three times a week instead of daily sessions would meet the requirements without placing too heavy an obligation on the volunteers. The teachers involved would have to make that decision.

The Example Set by the Foxfire Program

In 1966, when Eliot Wigginton first went to teach in the Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School in Georgia, neither he nor anyone else realized what the outcome would be. After his first couple of months as a teacher in this Appalachian school, Wigginton considered himself a failure: he had not reached the ninth and tenth graders he had been assigned to help. Rather than retreat or tough it out, he proposed to his students that they "throw away the text and start a magazine" (1972:10).

Like successive ripples in the surface of a pond, the aftereffects of Wigginton's decision touched first the Rabun Gap school, then their community, and next the region. With the publication of a volume of their best articles, several years after the first issue of their periodical appeared, the young people and their project leapt into national view. That first book has been followed by seven more in the years intervening, and the base project has grown into a non-profit, tax-exempt corporation with its own Board of Directors, Advisory Board and corporation lawyers (Wigginton, 1975:16).

In 1974, using the money from the sales of their first two books, the students chose to invest in a neighboring fifty-acre tract of land to

which they subsequently moved their offices and shop (Wigginton, 1975: 16). Between 1975 and 1983 the students expanded their frame of concern to include their community and outlying areas. As a result, when Foxfire 6 went to press in 1983, the students had already compiled a "shopping list of local needs" (Wigginton, 1980:20), and made specific commitments to the nearby community of Mountain City.

These commitments made to the formerly thriving township involve building relocation and restoration plus a community development project designed to provide jobs and increased income and community pride. The students visualize a city park, recreation center, amphitheater, community/ historical center and buildings for museum and sales outlet representing Appalachian craftsmen. The students bought this particular section of land in Mountain City in 1977, and they have spent their spare time since then interviewing residents as to what future uses they should make of the site.

Even if Foxfire¹⁰ went defunct tomorrow, it would still have achieved the impossible dream and immeasurably enriched the lives of hundreds of mountain youth. Wigginton said that Foxfire sprang originally from his basic concern that his students were losing touch with their own mountain heritage (1973:10). The first Foxfire interviews were with the older folk of the mountains, examining their lifestyle and their crafts, and placing that examination within a sympathetic frame for public enlightenment. From such simple beginnings has come the explosion of youthful interest and involvement that is chronicled in the Foxfire books.

It would not be possible to match the Foxfire Program, now that it has already been done for the first time. It would be possible, however,

to surpass Foxfire by harnessing that same brand of youthful enthusiasm as applied to projects of interest in a different locale. And this is what Eliot Wigginton is recommending.

In Foxfire 6 Wigginton uses sixteen pages of his Introduction to lay down a blueprint of how to stimulate the kind of atmosphere and attitudes that are conducive to the development of programs like Foxfire. One guideline of his overall plan is examined below:

The rule of thumb we use, and one that will probably evolve in time as we get better at, and more self-confident with, this whole business, is to turn over to the students all decisions concerning our organization that they themselves can be responsible for and implement to completion. This they do in an atmosphere where they learn to weigh the consequences of such decisions for themselves and the organization, and where mistakes that are made are accepted as new opportunities to learn—not as opportunities to condemn the student who made them.

There are parallels here that can be extended to any school as a whole. Each day, in every school in the nation, scores of decisions are made by the principal and assistant principal that affect the movements and activities of students within. Often these decisions are made by adults not because they refuse to believe that students could make them just as well, but because it is so much more expedient to make them themselves. And they're right. But one of our mandates is to help students learn to make responsible choices, and the fact is that schools as microcosms of society, can be perfect learning laboratories for building these skills. It is somewhat less convenient, but schools built for the convenience of adults are often schools where little learning takes place (1980:13).

It must be immediately apparent to any sensible reader that this state of affairs and this philosophy did not evolve in a day, or even in a year. It took years of experimenting, as the students became more responsible, first on a classroom level, first in small things, before extending the scope of their influence to the school as a whole, and beyond. Years were needed, also, to enable administrators to build confidence in the decision-making ability of these young people. And, while Wigginton does not say so, he must have had to put his own neck on the line more

than once, and that required courage.

Any teacher who wants--who really wants--to reach his or her students needs to muster courage. Courage is needed to come out from behind the desk and sit on the floor with the kids, saying: "What do you think?--what do you want?" as Wigginton describes in the first Foxfire book (1972:10). A teacher needs courage to contain his fears and intercede for his students before other adults. It takes courage to be different. It also takes time. In The Foxfire Book the author talks about the necessity of treating the program like a vision, a calling. Wigginton began putting in many extra hours outside his classroom time. But it paid off.

The other programs mentioned in this thesis were for young children, first coming to school. But, what of the young man who dropped out of school in such an untimely way? What of all those teenagers who are in lower quartile reading groups and who see no practical value in continuing their education? Foxfire spoke to young people like those, and they answered. Those teenagers with whom Wigginton first began working were not "the cream of the school"; they were disillusioned, disinterested, pulling down poor grades, just marking time until they could leave school legally. In spirit they had already departed. Wigginton found the correct cultural path for them, and he turned the key in the portal lock. Foxfire engaged its youthful workers both in their own heritage and in accepting responsibility for their own futures. It did this by making education relevant to them on a here-and-now basis.

The author of this thesis has chosen to avoid a more detailed description of the Foxfire Program purposefully. The account of Foxfire,

if genuinely needed, is available in the library. What is not needed, however, is another Foxfire. Hopefully, enough information has been provided to excite thought and provoke action. Programs that bear little resemblance to Foxfire can be even more successful, because they can be designed to meet the unique needs of the unique young people who participate in them. There is no grade scale. The sky's the limit. And, for young mountain people who feel that schooling is not germane to their lives or needs, even the gift of the dream is a gift beyond imagining.

CHAPTER 8

PROGRAMS FOR EDUCATORS

Teacher Education Class on Culture and Language

One of the training requirements for a teacher who plans to work within the limits of the District of Columbia is a course on urban culture (Wolfram, 1984b). The purpose of this course is to acquaint the teacher-trainee with the wide range of urban backgrounds which he or she will encounter in the classroom. Would it not be feasible to offer a similar course on the culture and language of Appalachia in the teacher training colleges of the region?

For the teacher who has already obtained his teaching certificate there could be attached to the conditions of his employment a stipulation mandating this class within a certain time frame. If school administrators so desired, this class could also be required of those teachers already working in the schools, and those teachers could be given credit toward continued certification by taking the course.

In the opinion of this author, such a class on culture and language offered as part of the teacher-training package could obviate some of the difficulties described in this thesis. This author would like to see such a course required throughout Appalachia, and there are qualified college professors in West Virginia who could help to plan the curriculum for such a class; some of them have been quoted in this paper. Since a different linguistic variety is in operation in Appalachia, it

would be necessary to include a linguistic component.

Suggestions as to implementation have been left vague. It is not for an outsider to the school system to lay down the exact terms for such a class. Rather, once the suggestion has been made, decisions concerning the details--the scope, the subject matter, the parameters, and the kinds of students--must be left to the people who will do the work necessary to put a foundation under the dream.

Initially, such a class should alleviate some of the misunderstandings beneath which many teachers and students in Appalachia labor today, and it could make the teacher's job easier. It must be very frustrating to feel that children have needs that are not being met, but not to know any definitive way to meet those needs. With the teacher's new insights on the mountain child, his culture and his language, there could also come a measure of peace and of purpose. The teacher would no longer be required to make bricks without straw.

The long-term benefit, of course, accrues to the child. The child's first bonding in the school system would be not only with someone who cares and is committed to the child's well-being, but also with someone who understands his background and subsequently accepts the child for who he is. The freedom that comes from being understood and accepted should enable the child to walk through open doors instead of being imprisoned by the educational system that was intended to help him.

Workshops for Educators

The unvarnished truth of the matter is that, like so many reports, this paper places an obligation on the teachers. The teachers will be

the chief group of individuals to implement any, all or none of these proposals, choosing the suggestions they feel will best suit the needs of their individual situations. This paper differs from those other reports, though, in one essential way: it was the teachers who first expressed their desire for ideas on how to deal with the problems posed by the mountain schoolchild. The first part of this paper exposed and related those background factors which have been influential in shaping the child with whom they have chosen to work. The second part of the paper laid bare the problems from the perspective of the individual teacher. It is necessary that this point be made quite clear--those teachers presenting their individual parts of the puzzle did not seem to feel a sense of unity on the problem. Each teacher, with his or her unique viewpoint, held a piece of the problem but seemed to fail to see the entire picture in terms of overlapping causes, complicating factors or solutions.

Just as this author is not an educator, those teachers are not linguists; neither are they sociologists nor psychologists. They did not realize the width, the breadth, the depth of the linguistic side of the problem. Neither did they analyze the positive and negative elements of the mountain culture as they apply to education. Nor were they much aware of the need to shore up the mountain child's self-esteem, although it must be added here that teacher after teacher had a gut-level feeling that their mountain pupils had a need in this area.

Finally, almost every teacher, at the point of discussing their mountain students, emanated a sense of loneliness and despair. They had some pupils who were not helped by their best efforts and all the compassion they could muster. As teachers their commitment is to teach. Each

child that does not seem to be well taught leaves the teacher with a tiny residue of failure.

A series of workshops would bring these teachers together with others of like mind and like problems. Each one would know that he or she is not alone. There would be opportunities to compare issues and ideas, to examine possible solutions.

Workshops could be used to brainstorm in areas like curriculum development. If the workshop were offered for college credit, then funds would be available to obtain specialists to talk about the design of teaching materials, textbooks and ESL programs.

In order to help the teachers better understand the linguistic background of their students and its proud heritage, linguists could be brought in to answer the teacher's questions. Sociologists who are conversant with Appalachian culture might come to such workshops in order to help explain why the children and their parents do some of the things they do. Perhaps a psychologist who has worked with educating children across cultural lines could illuminate particularly sensitive areas. If some teachers are unwittingly contributing to the problem through their attitudes, they will want to know how to change. Change is what it's all about. Teachers in Appalachia want a change--from apathetic school dropouts to proud graduates.

CHAPTER 9

PROGRAMS FOR THE COMMUNITY

Community Action Projects

Everyone who lived in West Virginia during the administration of Lyndon Baines Johnson can recall with terrible clarity the progress of the War on Poverty as it was fought in the mountains of Appalachia. The rich man from Massachusetts had confronted poverty, the like and degree of which he'd never seen before, and he'd been touched by the needs of the people. After the assassination of John Kennedy, Congress rushed to provide a living memorial for him in terms that spoke of his humanitarian ideals. After Kennedy's campaign in West Virginia, he had spoken often of what he'd seen there; so it was that a major battle in the overall war was staged for West Virginia and her sister states in Appalachia.

Millions of dollars were poured into the War on Poverty. Programs, some ill-conceived and hastily formulated, were rushed into production because it was a seller's market. If a certain type of program worked well in one limited location with one group of people, it was likely to be expanded beyond its capacity, shaken, pummeled, molded and transplanted to an entirely different environment with a group of people who were quite different. Many good ideas were lost and some excellent programs eventually became defunct because of haste and this desire for ubiquitous application.

Some very sound precepts underlay the community action programs.

At the heart of all these precepts was the conviction that action must come from the people, from the grassroots up, in order to be a genuine expression of what the people wanted and in order to endure. This author was working out in Appalachia for the Department of Welfare during the mid-sixties and observed first-hand the management of one of the local Community Action Programs (or CAP as it shall henceforth be called).

At the time of its inception, the local CAP hired some administrators, most of whom were local people, and all of whom were knowledgeable, caring, competent people. They were paid salaries that seemed high, computed--one supposes--according to federal standards for administrators. Next, the middle level of workers was hired. A few qualified people were found in the county, if not in the same community. The others commuted from a large urban area in the neighboring county. Each of these middle level employees was paid a salary approximately twice what a social worker for the Department of Welfare was paid, although the published qualifications were the same for both positions. Then the lower level positions were filled with strictly local people--people who were rich in contacts, friends and experiences with others, but lacking higher education. From the perspective of the welfare workers' office, the CAP did some wonderful things. CAP was not bound by the multitude of restrictions that hounded welfare workers, and all these new employees seemed to have been chosen first of all for their zeal.

After a couple of years, the honeymoon was over. The fresh edge of enthusiasm had been dulled; federal guidelines had multiplied like rabbits; the cry of "accountability" for the funds was heard frequently, while completing the forms to accomplish it consumed a lot of time; and

the community service workers, those uneducated but experienced local people, had been required to start supplementing their education with college courses, seminars and workshops. One by one the lower level workers wandered off the scene, and some of the higher echelon workers now found themselves qualified for more demanding, more responsible positions elsewhere.

After the departure of all those hard-working community action people, the mountain family was still esconced in its hollow, still conducting its placid existence, relatively unchanged--unchanged but not untouched. When the mountain man first encounters something new, his reaction is to watch it for a few years. It may go away. Almost against their wills, some had been stirred and involved by friends and relatives who were themselves involved in one aspect or another of the CAP. Hope had been reborn in some people, and they began to voice opinions in community gatherings, to make friends with VISTA¹¹ workers who came from places with odd names like Ypsilanti, to attempt to achieve their own dreams.

Those dreams are still there, and the men who dared to dream them are still there; and they know now that it's possible for them to make their voices heard, given a receptive climate. There are many needs in Appalachia today that could best be met, in the author's opinion, by a good community action program; "good" here means a program that is "of the people, by the people and for the people." A program with outside leadership, funding and goals is not, by the above definition, a good program, despite genuine attempts to meet genuine needs as heard from the horse's mouth--the mountaineer himself. A good program is not

something that outsiders can start, by its very definition it must come from the people.

From the author's point of view, a community action project could have other, less tangible, but nevertheless important accomplishments. The point has been made previously about the hole left in the fabric of the community by the removal of the schools from the more rural areas. A viable community action project might well prove the stimulus for the re-establishment of communication between the mountain people and some of the various levels of government and authority.

When the VISTA program was fully staffed and operational, a lot of country people learned in a relatively painless way about the larger society: what agency to visit with what need, how to place an advertisement in a newspaper, how to fill out government forms correctly, where to go for information on diverse matters. A lot of young people who came from places with odd names like Poughkeepsie learned a lot of things, too. The author saw many mountain families able to offer hospitality and information about their lifestyles and crafts to people who were able to receive and eager to learn. This sharing built mutual good will and understanding because the administrators of VISTA had the right approach for Appalachia: live among the people, live as they do---learn from them how to live as they do. But the VISTA workers have moved back home to Ypsilanti and Poughkeepsie, and those eager young neighbors who wanted so to learn from the mountaineer are no more. The mountaineer never knew before that he had something to teach.

Adult Education Classes

Virtually every area of the United States now has Adult Education classes of some sort. Adult Ed classes are sometimes designed for the completion of a High School diploma--the G.E.D., for example--and sometimes for lower level college credit--Psychology I would be a good example here. Basically, however, Adult Ed classes are for fun and information: tole painting, Red Cross certification, gymnastics, conversational Spanish, writing for publication, upholstery, pressure cooker cannery, ESL for immigrants, tax return preparation, etc. The list can be endless. First and foremost, Adult Ed classes are planned and established for the adult students who need/want them and intend to enroll in them.

This author has absolutely no idea of the different kinds of Adult Ed classes available in rural West Virginia; neither does she know how many subjects are offered; nor does she know how deep into the rural areas the Adult Ed Program reaches. This author does know, however, that few things can beat a really satisfactory Adult Ed Program for its ability to draw people together, stimulate, motivate and inform, not to mention just plain entertain. A well-conceived and executed Adult Ed Program can literally change the life of a community.

What is needed to begin a good Adult Ed Program? A capable, experienced administrator and a local person who is already part of the life of the community. Of the two, the local person is the more important because he or she is the one who will deduce from interactions with community members the kinds of classes that would be successful. Given that raw knowledge, the administrator's job is to bring it to pass. At a minimum, the administrator will have to determine the right person to teach the

class, an acceptable place to hold the class, the most popular time for the class (this can be very important) and myriad other small details which can be, nevertheless, crucial to the success or failure of the class.

Both staff would have to set aside for a season their personal convictions on what kinds of classes are most important. The most important class is the class that people take. After a solid base of prospering classes has been established, and the adult students have brought in other students--thus indicating their trust in the Adult Ed Program--some more innovative classes might be offered. Before this point can be reached, however, it is essential that both staff listen intently not only to community members but to each other. It will be necessary for the community worker to listen not just to what the people say but to what the people mean. It will be just as necessary for the administrator to give credence to what the community worker deems a potential success, no matter how odd some of the notions might seem. If that's what the people really want, they that's what they should have, unless the Adult Ed Program is prepared to self-destruct first, rather than try something original. The same consideration applies to location of class and time.

This concept also applies to the teacher chosen for the class, and this is one point the author wishes to emphasize. These classes are for the students; they are for the students to enjoy. If the students want Aunt 'Meriky to teach them how to make old-fashioned lye soap from scratch, then Aunt 'Meriky is the teacher of choice, if she can be convinced to do it.

An outstanding Adult Ed Program has many benefits: it helps give purpose and continuity to community members, it helps knit up the raveled fabric of the community, it can add zest and new life to the community, it can provide a forum for the exchange of ideas, it helps prevent the stultification of mental processes, it can contribute to a rebirth of pride--both for individuals and for groups, and it can provide an opportunity for neighbors to work together on a project again.

If all these results were the only results, the program that produced them would still have a great deal of which to be proud. But there are other possibilities that relate directly to the needs brought to light in this paper.

Orin Graff (1962) said that people in the Southern Appalachian Region were confused as to the purpose of education (189). If this statement is true (and the author believes that it is), then it speaks volumes about the effectiveness of all educational efforts in the region to date. With the distancing of the school and the teachers from the hollows and the residents thereof, a line of communication that had previously been somewhat tenuous was virtually closed altogether. Shapiro (1978) gives thirty-one pages to a discussion of rural education in Appalachia, covering a period of time from the mid-nineteenth century to the Second World War, and his theme is the relevancy of education to the people receiving it. He mentions attempts to emulate Scandinavian Folk Schools and the many ways in which such a move was more suited to the needs of people in Appalachia than was the growing emphasis on more academics in education (231). As long as classes do not meet the felt needs of the people enrolled in them, the classes and the larger system which employs

them will be open to misinterpretation. From what source are the young people who decry education absorbing their educational values? Their values came from their families, and that means adults. The factors in the problem of literacy in Appalachia are manifold and needs must be attacked on many fronts at one and the same time. Adults who receive education which is meaningful and enjoyable will eventually radiate a certain difference in their attitudes about education.

The other point which was made in this thesis about adults and education is that they need it as much as their children do. Orin Graff makes a plea for Adult Ed Programs throughout the entire Southern Appalachian Region (1962:188). Mountain people, however, are proud people, and it cannot be expected that they will tamely acquiesce to classroom settings with groups of people witnessing their admissions of illiteracy. This author, therefore, recommends a full investigation of methods which obviate the necessity of group gatherings for literacy classes. One modality which has enjoyed solid success in this category is the Laubach Method. Initiated by Frank Laubach more than half a century ago, the Laubach Method's motto is "each one teach one", and the technique directs its participants to do just that very thing. The first man teaches the second man, working one-on-one, and the second man then teaches a third man, using what he has observed to work with his own education, and so on until a community can boast a good-sized body of readers. While it is quite possible for a community to instigate and continue a Laubach Program without the aid of an Adult Ed Program, the Adult Ed Program can help legitimize the project (which, given the tradition-bound suspicion of new things prevalent in the mountains, might be necessary); it can

train the trainers, and act as a resource for both "teachers" and students. Knowing the mountain mentality, this author believes that such a reading program could be quite successful in Appalachia.

SUMMARY

For many years this author has been perplexed and troubled by the persistently high rate of school drop-outs in her home state of West Virginia. Years spent growing up in Appalachia, employed as a social worker there, later as a counselor in an anti-poverty program in southern California (working with bilingual teenagers), and as an instructor in a community college adult education program all laid pieces of the foundation for the answer to the mystery. It was not, however, until the author began training as a linguist that certain outlines began to develop clearly. Cultural implications came to light, and causes along with possible solutions to the riddle emerged.

Beginning with the fact that the poorest farmland in the United States is to be found in the Southern Appalachian Region (Vance, 1962:5), and gaining some cultural data from the insider's viewpoint, one finally realizes that the people of Appalachia may be poor in terms of American financial norms, but they are rich in tradition. Their language is rich, too, in history, in pungent metaphor, in its value to the people who speak it. But language and culture between them have served as a barrier to literacy, thus sharply limiting the choices open to the mountaineer and his family in this latter half of the twentieth century.

That this limited condition need not be permanent is the topic of the last section of this thesis as it explores various possibilities for attacking the literacy problem from various angles. Taken as a whole, this final section might be retitled "the shotgun approach."

While change is important, it must not be concluded that no change at all will take place if educators as individuals and in their official capacities do not choose to adopt any of these suggestions. Change is the order of the universe, and it will occur, whether planned or not. One can deduce, however, that since change per se is of no value to the mountaineer, desired changes may take many years, and many, many dollars to realize, if educated intervention does not occur. On the other hand, educators as agents of change could shed some of their frustration and assume some of the responsibility to initiate change, beginning with themselves.

Attitudes will have to change, AE language and culture will have to be recognized for the influence they have, school systems will have to become more flexible in some areas of dealing with the mountain child. The timing of these changes will have to be left up to the individuals involved. For the sake of the children, this author can only hope that some of these changes take place sooner rather than later.

This author also wishes to clarify certain points. First of all, just as there is no typical mountaineer, so there is no typical Appalachian community or county, and any attempt to describe one would only result in stereotype or even caricature. Some counties in Appalachia are more isolated than the ones described in this study. Some are more modern, as they are in transition in a liminal meeting ground with standard American culture. Some states are not so fortunate as to have yet achieved standardized requirements and pay for their teachers, leaving some of their counties in a substandard position with a limited pool of teachers from which to draw.

In this thesis the author chose to dwell on the traditional aspects of AE culture so as to present a more clear-cut picture of cultural variance. The same is true of language. And it is a fact that mountain people at home do live this way and talk this way. Everywhere, however, values are changing to some degree. In some communities (like Stephenson's Shiloh) this change is more evident. In Shiloh, for example, mountain people do something that was unheard of in the mountains just a few years ago--they commute to work (1968:18). Some upwardly mobile mountain families even migrate permanently out of the state (Stephenson, 1968:21), even if they do return home to the mountains at every opportunity as Simpkins describes.

For those skeptics (including a few anthropologists who have studied individual mountain communities) who still insist that the mountaineers they know "don't talk that way" to them, there is a simple reply. Mountain folk have become past masters at code switching. This author personally witnessed too many examples of code switching this past summer to ever again doubt the mountain man's linguistic ability. "Code switchin' means yer all sittin' roun' th' kitchen table, swappin' yarns, 'n a salesman comes to th' door. Granny gits up 'n talks to 'im, not in the AE she's jest been a-talkin', but in his language modified by her to sound a little softer, a little more drawly." "Code switchin' means yer talkin' up a storm with yer cuzzin in AE, 'n he switches t' Standard English--phonology, grammar and vocabulary--because he wants to discuss something for which AE has no concepts, but which is dear to his heart--his daughter's nursing education at a big city university hospital."

Finally, the mountaineer is not a one-dimensional figure--neither a

carefree hill-billy nor a noble inheritor of Celtic tradition. Shapiro calls Appalachia a "strange land inhabited by a peculiar people" (1978: xvii), and Coles (1967:509) and Chappell (1984:264) both speak of the dark side of the mountain man's personality. To the extent that the reader needs realize that the mountain man is not eagerly awaiting the Seventh Cavalry to come over the hill to rescue him (but is, perhaps, lying in ambush), the author has tried to shed light on this area. A different approach is indicated when one understands that the mountaineer might not want to be saved from himself but for himself and by himself. That is the challenge confronting anyone who wishes to meet some of the needs depicted in this thesis.

FOOTNOTES

1. Page 1. The book written by Dutcher (1982) examines six case studies of schools working with bilingual children. These six examples contain many characteristics similar to schools in Appalachia in that the descriptions of the children's behavior patterns match.
2. Page 12. According to Norman Simpkins (1974:38) the Clydesdale and the Shetland were both developed by the Scots. Furthermore, according to the Encyclopedia International (1963-69:IV:172) the Aberdeen Angus, the Ayrshire, the Galloway and the Scotch Highland all owe their breeding to the Scots, and the Celts get credit for the Jersey and the Guernsey and the Welsh pony.
3. Page 33. Horace Kephart (1913) devotes one intriguing chapter in his book to a discussion of his observations on mountain speech, some of which are amazingly astute, considering his lack of linguistic background.
4. Page 39. Wolfram and Christian (1976) did linguistic field work in Mercer and Monroe Counties, West Virginia for two years. They accumulated tape recordings featuring all the items they investigated as observed in the speech of several hundred respondents.
5. Page 43. Title I of the federal education act stipulates that a standardized test is to be given to First Graders in public schools in the United States. The decision as to which standardized test is to be given (the CTBS, the California Achievement Test, the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities, etc.) is left to the individual school board, but there is a tendency to offer the same test over an entire region. According to an employee at the Research and Evaluation for Learning offices of the Dallas County School System, all the tests are similar in composition. The Iowa Test is the choice for Texas, and is two hours in length, consisting of 5 sections: word analysis, vocabulary, reading comprehension, language skills and math. All answers are multiple choice.
6. Page 57. The word heired as Fink has used it is also a candidate for the zero derivation (noun to verb) class.
7. Page 64. The term "retention" here is a euphemism meaning "failed." It is not to be confused with the term "retardation" employed earlier by Graff and meaning that a child is older than the other children in his grade, indicating that he has been retained at some point.
8. Page 88. The respondent did not here mean that one is able to func-

tion quite well in American society without being able to read, but rather without needing to read.

9. Page 94. Dutcher (1982) states that Native American children are tested in their own languages. Also, in reading several articles from the Proceedings of the First Inter-American Conference on Bilingual Education (Troike and Modiano, 1975) there was no mention made of children in the bilingual classrooms described taking any sort of standardized test.
10. Page 110. The author wishes to clarify for the reader the difference between Foxfire and Foxfire (with no underlining). Foxfire is the catchy and significant name chosen for the title of the young people's periodical. When edited and compiled into a major volume, it is either The Foxfire Book (the first book in the series) or else it is Foxfire 2, Foxfire 3, etc. As time went on, however, and the magazine became a program, it retained the name Foxfire.
11. Page 120. VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) was the American Peace Corps as envisioned by President Kennedy. Entrance requirements were similar for both programs, and both were designed to provide a stimulus to help local residents pull themselves up by their bootstraps. A VISTA worker was paid by the federal government, half of his or her earnings went into a fund to be collected upon completion of the term of service. Terms were of different lengths, varying from eighteen months to three years and could be renewed if all parties were agreeable. The parties involved were the federal government, the individual (sometimes a married couple) and the local community agency which had requested the VISTA worker, would oversee the VISTA worker's job performance, and would report regularly to the federal level. While assigned a job by the local agency, the VISTA worker was not to become a free clerk for the agency. Rather, it was understood that the VISTA worker's prime directive was community development. A number of the VISTA workers who came to Appalachia were young people who had grown up in cities. The first thing that most of them seemed to do was to move into rickety old farm houses with outhouses and no running water, acquire a slew of animals, and start trying to put in gardens and learn to quilt, relying heavily on guidance from the indigenous population. The indigenous population loved it--and them.

APPENDIX

The map reproduced below was found in:
Peters, Robert A. 1968. A linguistic history of English. Boston:
Houghton Mifflin Co.

PERIODS OF ENGLISH

Plate 9. OE dialect areas.



PUPIL LOSS IN FIRST TWELVE GRADES OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS*

GRADE	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	Percentage of Pupils Enrolling First Grade Who Remain to Graduate from High School Twelve Years Later.
Year.....	1936-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	
Enrollment.....	63,318	62,000	61,948	60,812	58,907	58,345	54,572	51,808	57,761	52,016	49,340	46,898	
Annual Loss.....	20,415	954	1,034	2,005	2,562	1,773	2,977	3,834	4,947	5,474	2,463	997	
Graduates.....												18,001	28 10
Year.....	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52	
Enrollment.....	54,118	63,152	61,808	59,702	58,053	56,347	54,785	51,813	57,827	54,073	50,487	47,340	
Annual Loss.....	12,984	1,344	2,108	1,849	1,808	1,400	2,049	3,000	3,784	3,690	3,140	441	
Graduates.....												17,848	38 37
Year.....	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52		
Enrollment.....	57,274	63,700	61,844	60,309	58,127	57,008	56,730	53,179	50,039	48,063	50,093		
Annual Loss.....	13,574	1,818	1,875	1,182	1,822	875	3,687	3,646	4,065	4,400			
Graduates.....													
Year.....	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52			
Enrollment.....	55,449	62,802	61,715	60,000	59,096	57,062	57,140	53,930	50,421	48,610			
Annual Loss.....	12,847	887	1,115	901	1,714	842	3,210	3,090	4,699				
Graduates.....													
Year.....	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52				
Enrollment.....	55,284	63,314	63,438	62,102	60,794	58,860	58,298	55,813	51,294				
Annual Loss.....	11,970	Gain 122	1,314	1,306	1,684	845	2,782	3,894					
Graduates.....													
Year.....	1944-45	1945-46	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52					
Enrollment.....	55,064	64,837	63,772	62,939	61,716	60,182	59,379	55,806					
Annual Loss.....	10,827	788	835	1,223	1,904	1,073	3,475						
Graduates.....													

*--... is collected from the annual reports of County Superintendents submitted to the State Superintendent at the end of each school year.

145

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Table 1. ITPA Grammatical Closure Subtest with Comparison of "Correct" Responses and Appalachian English Alternate Forms

Stimulus with "Correct" Item According to Test Manual

AE Alternate

1. Here is a dog. Here are two *dogs/doggies*
2. This cat is under the chair. Where is the cat?
She is *anyany* preposition—other than *under*—indicating location.
3. Each child has a ball. This is hers, and this is his.
4. This dog likes to bark. Here he is barking.
5. Here is a dress. Here are two *dressies*.
6. The boy is opening the gate. Here the gate has been opened.
7. There is milk in this glass. It is a glass *offwith/fulw/fulw of milk*.
8. This bicycle belongs to John. Whose bicycle is it? It is John's.
9. This boy is writing something. This is what he *wrote/has written/wrote*.
10. This is the man's home, and this is where he works. Here he is going to work, and here he is going *homewh/homewh his home*.
11. Here it is night, now here it is morning. He goes to work first thing in the morning, and he goes home first thing *at night*.
12. This man is painting. He is a *painter/painter*.
13. The boy is going to eat all the cookies. Now all the cookies have been *eaten*.
14. He wanted another cookie, but there weren't *any/more* more.
15. This horse is not big. This horse is big. This horse is even bigger.
16. And this horse is the very *biggest*.
17. Here is a man. Here are two *men/gentlemen*.
18. This man is planting a tree. Here the tree has been *planted*.
19. This is soap and these are *soap/hair of soap/hair of soap*.
20. This child has lots of blocks. This child has even *more*.
21. And this child has the *most*.
22. Here is a foot. Here are two *feet*.
23. Here is a sheep. Here are lots of *sheep*.
24. This cookie is not very good. This cookie is good. This cookie is even *better*.

25. And this cookie is the very *best*.
26. This man is hanging the picture. Here the picture has been *hung*.
27. The thief is stealing the jewelry. These are the jewelry that he *took*.
28. Here is a woman. Here are two *women*.
29. The boy had two bananas. He gave one away, and he kept one for *himself*.
30. Here is a leaf. Here are two *leaves*.
31. Here is a child. Here are three *children*.
32. Here is a mouse. Here are two *mice*.
33. These children all fell down. He hurt himself, and she hurt herself. They all hurt *themselves*.

This is a copy of the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities and was copied from the article by Walter Wolfram entitled Language assessment in Appalachia: a sociolinguistic assessment.

This is a copy of the survey form designed by Diana McLaughlin. 1984.

NAME _____	HOME STATE _____	EDUCATION _____
YEARS TEACHING _____	HOW MANY IN W.VA. _____	WHERE IN W.VA. _____
HOW MANY IS-PLS THIS YR. _____	LAST YEAR _____	USE OF AC FIRMS INCREASED, DECREASED, STAYED THE SAME _____

CHARACTERISTICS OF APPALACHIAN ENGLISH SPEECH

	Frequency	OR	Usage
	few use it	almost half	most use it
PRONUNCIATION:			
Dropping "-ing" as in "runnin', goin'"			
Adding final syllable with plural as in "dishes, vases"			
Dropping the "t" as in "he'da, ca's"			
Adding final "t" as in "a-roast, cliff, honest"			
Adding initial "h" as in "hit's my ball"			
Changing final "w" to "t" as in "sholt, ruint"			

GRAMMAR:

Addition of "a-" to a vb. as in "he come a-runnin'"	
Irregular vb. forms like "I regret it" "I taken it"	
Use of "done" in a sentence as "he done got tired"	
Possessive pronoun as in "his'n, your'n"	
Multiple negative in sentence "I ain't never gonna do it"	
Comparatives like "bigger, bester, most bigger"	
Irregular plurals like "roofs, feet, sheeps"	
Subject-verb disagreement as in "they was goin'"	

VOCABULARY:

a-fixin' (getting ready)	
biggity (conceit)	
come (prep. for "by, about")	
critter (creature)	
druther (prefer)	
fetch (to bring)	
fitten (to be suitable)	
iffin (if)	
learn (to teach)	
mighty (very)	
meaney (mean)	
plumb (completely)	
snack-slab (exactly)	
sorry (worthless)	

REFERENCES

- Abrahams, Roger D. and Rudolph C. Troike, eds. 1972. Language and cultural diversity in American education. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc.
- A brief summary of facts bearing upon the problem of financing education in West Virginia. 1926. Charleston: State Department of Education.
- Agheyisi, Rebecca and Joshua A. Fishman. 1970. Language attitude studies: a brief survey of methodological approaches. *Anthropological linguistics* 12:5. 137-157.
- Allen, Harold B. and Gary N. Underwood, eds. 1971. Readings in American dialectology. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Annual evaluation report of the state department of education: bureau of services and federal assistance. 1983. Charleston, WV: State Department of Education.
- Arthur, Bradford. 1973. Teaching English to speakers of English. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.
- Bailey, Charles-James N. and Roger W. Shuy, eds. 1973. New ways of analyzing variation in English. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Belcher, John C. 1962. Population growth and characteristics. In Ford, 1962b. 37-54.
- Bernstein, Basil. 1970. Social class, language and socialization. Language and social context, ed. by Pier Paoli Giglioli, 157-178. New York: Penguin Books.
- Bull, William. 1955. The use of vernacular language in fundamental education. *International journal of American linguistics* 21. 228-94.
- Bureau of Educational Field Services. 1960. Educational statistics. Miami University and Oxford, Ohio.
- Carter, Candy, chairwoman and the Committee on Classroom Practices. 1982. Non-native and nonstandard dialect students. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Caudill, Harry M. 1962. Night comes to the Cumberlands. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

- Caudill, Harry M. 1971. *My land is dying*. New York: E.P. Dutton.
- Cavins, Lorimer V. 1926. *The financing of education in West Virginia*. Charleston: State Department of Education.
- Cavins, Lorimer V., preparer. 1928. *Survey of education in West Virginia, Vol. II: educational achievement*. Charleston: State Department of Education.
- Chappell, Fred. 1984. The ninety-ninth Foxfire book. *Appalachian Journal* 11. 260-267.
- Chomsky, Carol. 1969. *The acquisition of syntax in children from 5 to 10*. Cambridge: MIT.
- Chomsky, Noam and Morris Halle. 1968. *The sound pattern of English*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Cicourel, Aaron V. and others. 1974. *Language use and school performance*. New York: Academic Press, Inc.
- Clark, Mike. 1971. Education and exploration. In Lewis, Johnson and Askins, 1978. 199-208.
- Coles, Robert. 1967. *Migrants, sharecroppers, mountaineers*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.
- Comstock, Jim. 1968. *Best of 'Hill-Billy'*. New York: Pocket Books.
- Cooper, Robert L., ed. 1982. *Language spread*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Dial, Wylene P. 1974. Language. In Maurer, 1980. 79-104.
- Dickens, Roy S. 1976. *Cherokee prehistory: the Pisgah phase in the Appalachian Summit Region*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Dropout report summary. 1983. Charleston, WV: State Department of Education.
- Duggins, Ludia A. 1968. *Developing children's perceptual skills in reading*. Wilton, CN: Mediav Inc.
- Dutcher, Nadine. 1982. *The use of first and second languages in primary education: selected case studies*. World Bank Staff Working Paper #504. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Encyclopedia international. 1963-69. 20 vols. New York: Grolier Inc.

- Engle, Patricia Lee. 1975. The use of vernacular languages in education: language medium in early school years for minority groups. Papers in applied linguistics, Bilingual Education Series #3. Arlington: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Feigenbaum, Irwin. 1970. The use of nonstandard English in teaching standard: contrast and comparison. Teaching standard English in the inner city, ed. by Ralph W. Fasold and Roger W. Shuy, 87-104. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Feitelson, Dina, ed. 1976. Mother tongue or second language. Newark, DE: International Reading Association.
- Fenton, William N. and John Gulick, eds. 1961. Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois culture. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Fink, Paul. 1974. Bits of mountain speech. Boone, NC: Appalachian Consortium Press.
- Fisher, Steve. 1984. As the world turns: the melodrama of Harry Caudill. Appalachian Journal 11. 268-273.
- Fishman, Joshua. 1975. Worldwide perspective on the sociology of bilingual education. In Troike and Modiano, 1975. 2-14.
- Fishman, Joshua A. 1981. Language policy: past, present and future. Language in the USA, ed. by Charles A. Ferguson and Shirley Brice Heath, 516-526. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ford, Thomas R. 1962a. The passing of provincialism. In Ford, 1962b. 9-35.
- Ford, Thomas R., ed. 1962b. The southern Appalachian region. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
- Forty-first biennial report of the state superintendent of free schools of the state of West Virginia for the period of July 1, 1952 to June 30, 1954. 1954. Charleston: State Department of Education.
- Friend, L.L. 1910. Community studies for rural high schools. Charleston, WV: State Department of Education.
- Gainer, Patrick. 1980. Music. In Maurer, 1980. 133-154.
- Gerrard, Louise B. 1966. The rural folk of southern West Virginia. Charleston. Unpublished manuscript.
- Gleeson, Patrick and Nancy Wakefield, eds. 1968. Language and culture: a reader. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co.

- Green, N. Bayard. 1974. Man and the Appalachian wilderness. In Maurer, 1980. 1-28.
- Graff, Orin B. 1962. The needs of education. In Ford, 1962b. 188-200.
- Harrington, Michael. 1962. The other American: poverty in the United States. New York: Macmillan Co.
- Hernandez-Chavez, Eduardo. 1975. Consideraciones sociolingüísticas en materiales, para la educación bilingüe. In Troke and Modiano, 1975. 228-238.
- Hicks, George L. 1976. Appalachian valley. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Hodges, Richard E. and E. Hugh Rudorf, eds. 1972. Language and learning to read: what teachers should know about language. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.
- Holm, Wayne. 1975. The development of reading materials: the Rock Point (Navaho) experience. In Troike and Modiano, 1975. 183-192.
- Holzinger, Charles H. 1961. Some observations on the persistence of aboriginal Cherokee personality traits. In Fenton and Gulick, 1961. 229-261.
- Kahn, Kathy. 1974. Hillbilly women. New York: Avon Books.
- Kephart, Horace. 1913. Our southern highlanders. New York: Outing Publishing Co.
- King, Duane H. 1979. The Cherokee Indian Nation. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Krapp, George Philip. 1960. The English language in America. 2 vols. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co. (originally published in 1925.)
- Labov, William. 1970. The study of language in its social context. Language and social context, ed. by Pier Paolo Giglioli, 283-308. New York: Penguin Books.
- Lee, Ernest W. 1982. Literacy primers: the Gudschinsky method. Dallas, TX: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Lewis, Helen Matthews, Linda Johnson and Donald Askins, eds. 1978. Colonialism in modern America. Boone, NC: Appalachian Consortium Press.
- Littlebear, Dick. 1983. Unpublished letter to Wayne Leman.

- Loof, David H. 1971. *Appalachia's children*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
- Mackay, Charles. 1888. *A dictionary of Lowland Scotch*. London: Whitaker and Co.
- McKnight, George Harley. 1928. *The evaluation of the English language*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- McLaughlin, Diana C. 1975. *Factors contributing to the high incidence of Indian alcoholism*. Unpublished manuscript.
- McLaughlin, Diana C. 1983. *A sociolinguistic survey on lexical items in Appalachian English*. Unpublished research paper.
- Maurer, B.B. 1974. Religion. In Maurer, 1980. 167-180.
- Maurer, B.B., ed. 1980. *Mountain heritage*. 4th edition. Parsons, WV: West Virginia Arts and Crafts Fair.
- Myers, L.M. 1966. *The roots of modern English*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.
- Newman, Jill. 1978. Word plays. *Women's day*. Sept., 1978. 77, 142, 144, 146.
- Oxford English dictionary, the. 1933. 12 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Page, Linda Garland and Eliot Wigginton, eds. 1983. *Aunt Arie: a Fox-fire portrait*. New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc.
- Pérez, Carmen Ana. 1975. Teaching the second language: TESOL in bilingual programs. In Troike and Modiano, 1975. 83-95.
- Peters, Robert A. 1968. *A linguistic history of English*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.
- Platero, Dillon. 1975. Bilingual education in the Navaho Nation. In Troike and Modiano, 1975. 54-61.
- Public elementary and secondary education in the United States, 1980-1981. 1983. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.
- Pyles, Thomas and John Algeo. 1982. *The origins and development of the English language*. 3rd edition. New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, Inc.
- Roen, Duane H. 1982. Teaching sociolinguistic differences in the language arts classroom. In Carter, 1982. 85-102.

- Saville, Muriel R. 1971. Interference phenomena in language teaching: their nature, extent, and significance in the acquisition of standard English. *Elementary English*, March, 1971. 396-405.
- Saville-Troike, Muriel. 1973. *Bilingual children: a resource document*. Arlington: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- School dollar: annual report of the West Virginia board of school finance: 1963064. 1964. Charleston: State Department of Education.
- School dollar, an analysis of public school financing and related statistics in West Virginia: 1972-73. 1973. Charleston: State Department of Education.
- Schumann, John and Nancy Stenson, eds. 1974. *New frontiers in second language learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers.
- Shackelford, Laurel and Bill Weinberg, eds. 1977. *Our Appalachia*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Shapiro, Henry D. 1978. *Appalachia on our mind*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Shuy, Roger W. 1967. *Discovering American dialects*. Champagne, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Shuy, Roger W. 1972. Sociolinguistics and teacher attitudes in a southern school system. *Sociolinguistics in cross-cultural analysis*, ed. by Roger W. Shuy and David M. Smith, 67-82. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Shuy, Roger W. and Ralph W. Fasold, eds. 1973. *Language attitudes: current trends and prospects*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Simpkins, O. Norman. 1974. Culture. In Maurer, 1980. 29-50.
- Sledd, J.H. 1966. Breaking umlaut, and the southern drawl. *Language* 42:1. 18-41.
- Smith, Frank. 1973. *Psycholinguistics and reading*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- Smithsonian Institution. 1966. *Anthropological papers: numbers 75-80*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Special statistical number. 1953. *West Virginia educational bulletin* 11. 34-53. Charleston: State Department of Education.
- State and regional development plans in Appalachia. 1968. Washington, DC: Appalachian Regional Commission.

- State annual evaluation report of fiscal year 1969-70. 1970. Charleston, WV: State Department of Education.
- Stephenson, John B. 1968. *Shiloh: a mountain community*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
- Stewart, William Alexander, ed. 1964. *Non-standard speech and the teaching of English*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Stuart, Jesse. 1949. *The thread that runs so true*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1972. *The history of English syntax*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- Troike, Rudolph C. 1978. *Research evidence for the effectiveness of bilingual education*. Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.
- Troike, Rudolph C. and Nancy Modiano. 1975. *Proceedings of the First Inter-American Conference on Bilingual Education*. Arlington: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Trudgill, Peter. 1983. *On dialect: social and geographical perspectives*. New York: New York University Press.
- Tustin, L.T., preparer. n.d. *State course of study for the teachers of illiteracy classes in West Virginia*. Charleston: State Department of Education.
- Vance, Rupert B. 1962. *The region: a new survey*. In Ford, 1962b. 5-8.
- Walls, David S. and Dwight B. Billings. 1977. *The sociology of southern Appalachia*. *Appalachian journal* 5. 131-144.
- Weatherford, Willis Duke, ed. 1955. *Religion in the Appalachian mountains*. Berea, KY: Berea College Centennial Publications.
- Webster's deluxe unabridged dictionary. 1983. 2nd edition. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Webster's third new international dictionary of the English language unabridged. 1968. Springfield, MA: G. and C. Merriam Company Publishers.
- Weller, Jack E. 1965. *Yesterday's people*. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press.
- West Virginia educational statistical summary: 1969-70. 1971. Charleston: State Department of Education.

West Virginia dropout study 1973-1974, the. n.d. Charleston: State Department of Education.

White, Doris and C.R. Murray. 1979. The West Virginia dropout study 1978-79. Charleston: State Department of Education.

_____. 1980a. The West Virginia dropout study 1976-77. Charleston: State Department of Education.

_____. 1980b. The West Virginia dropout study 1977-78. Charleston: State Department of Education.

White, Doris. 1981a. The West Virginia dropout study 1974-75. Charleston: State Department of Education.

_____. 1981b. The West Virginia dropout study 1975-76. Charleston: State Department of Education.

_____. 1981c. The West Virginia dropout study 1979-80. Charleston: State Department of Education.

Wigginton, Eliot, ed. 1972. The foxfire book. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

_____. 1973. Foxfire 2. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

_____. 1975. Foxfire 3. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

_____. 1977. Foxfire 4. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

_____. 1979. Foxfire 5. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

_____. 1980. Foxfire 6. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

_____. 1982. Foxfire 7. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

_____. 1983. Foxfire 8. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

Williams, Cratis. 1961. Mountain speech. In Gleeson and Wakefield, 151-160.

Williams, Frederick, ed. 1970. Language and poverty: perspectives on a theme. Chicago: Markham.

- Williams, Frederick and associates. 1976. Explorations of the linguistic attitudes of teachers. Roxley, MA: Newbury House Publishers.
- Williams, Ronnie L., compiler. 1983. Boone County drop-out research project, part-one. Madison, WV: Boone County Board of Education.
- Wolfram, Walter. 1977a. On the linguistic study of Appalachian speech and a bibliography of Appalachian English. *Appalachian journal* 5. 92-102.
- _____. 1977b. Language assessment in Appalachia: a sociolinguistic perspective. *Appalachian journal* 4. 224-234.
- _____. 1980. A-prefixing in Appalachian English. *Locating language in time and space*, ed. by William Labov, 107-142. New York: Academic Press.
- _____. 1984a. Is there an 'Appalachian English'? *Appalachian journal* 11. 214-225.
- _____. 1984b. Personal communication.
- Wolfram, Walter and Donna Christian. 1976. *Appalachian speech*. Arlington: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Wolfram, Walter and Robert W. Fasold. 1974. *The study of social dialects in American English*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc.
- Wolfram, Walter and Robert Johnson. 1982. *Phonological analysis: focus on American English*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Wyld, Henry Cecil. 1920. *A history of modern, colloquial English*. 3rd edition. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc.